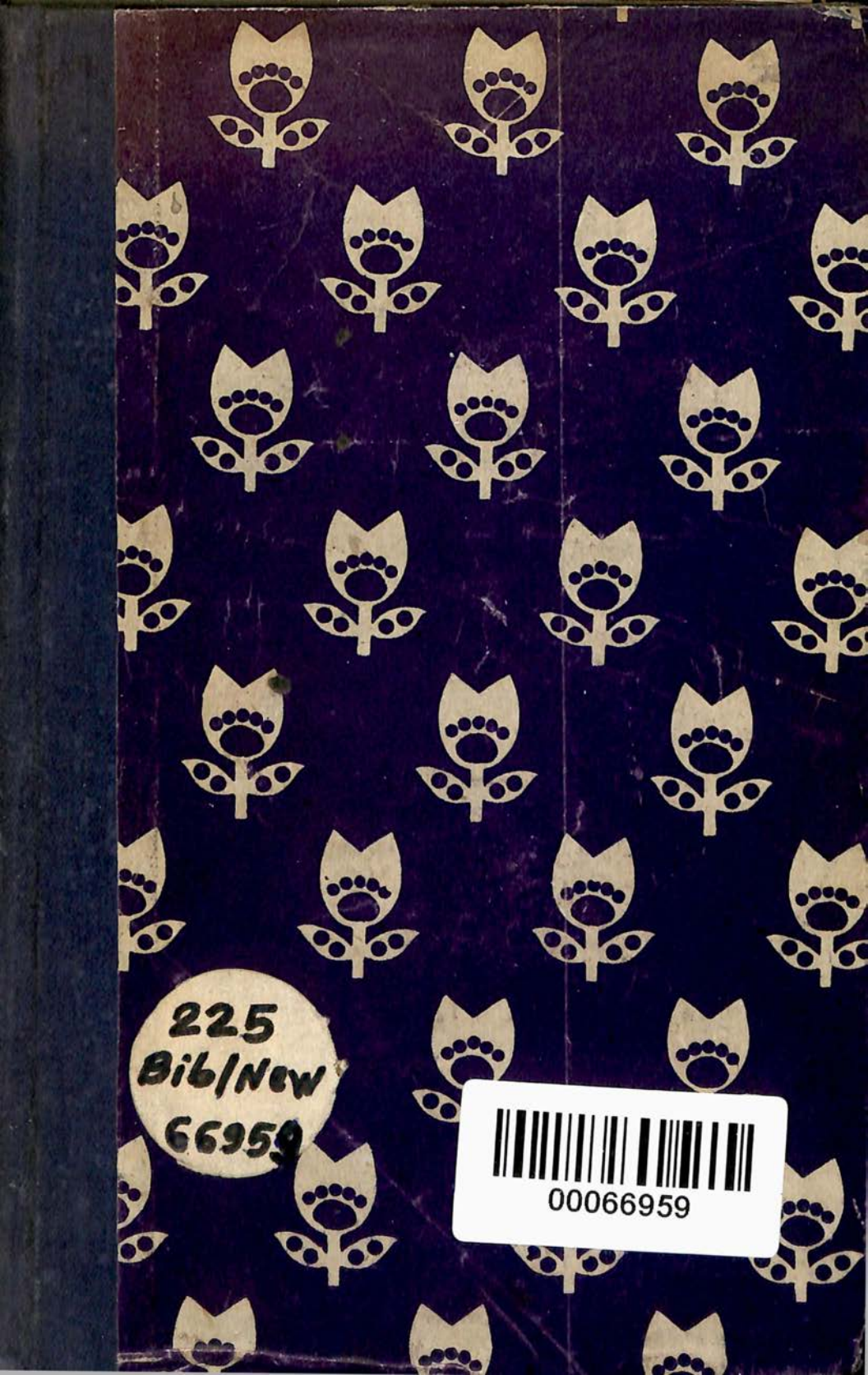
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A

NEW AND FULL

METHOD

OF SETTLING

THE CANONICAL AUTHORITY

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED

A VINDICATION OF THE FORMER PART

OF

ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL,

FROM MR. WHISTON'S CHARGE OF DISLOCATIONS.

66959

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY

THE REV. JEREMIAH JONES.

VOL. III.

OXFORD:
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
MDCCXCVIII.

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A

METHOD

FOR

SETTLING THE CANON

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

PART IV.

A general Diſſertation, or Proof, concerning the Canonical Authority of the Four Goſpels.

BEFORE I enter upon the proof of the Canonical authority of each of the Goſpels in particular, it will be very ſerviceable to my deſign to obſerve and ſhew, that *the primitive Chriſtians have expreſsly acknowledged only four Goſpels; and thoſe four Goſpels which we now receive under the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, to be genuine and Canonical.* I ſhall produce the ſeveral teſtimonies which I have obſerved, according to the order of time in which the writers ved; and among theſe it will not be amiſs to place,

1. St. John.

I. The teſtimony of St. John the Apoſtle; concerning whom we are told by Euſebius [a], *That when the three Goſpels (of Matthew, Mark, and Luke) were publiſhed and known to every body, St. John at length ſaw them, approved them, and confirmed the truth of them; but* (owned) *that they were defective as to the account of thoſe things which were done by our Saviour at the beginning of his miniſtry——For which reaſon John, being deſired by his friends, ſupplied the defects of the three others, and wrote his Goſpel to inform us of that time, and the things which were done by our Saviour in it,* viz. *before the impriſonment of John the Baptiſt.* Now hence it follows;

1. That before St. John wrote his Goſpel, the Chriſtians of that firſt age owned and received no other than the Goſpels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; although it is certain there were many other falſe Goſpels extant at that time, as I have elſewhere proved.

2. That theſe three were univerſally received and approved

3. That they were with juſt reaſon ſo approved, becauſe St. John alſo did approve them.

Beſides this teſtimony of Euſebius, I find in a very old book, intitled, Μαρτύριον Τιμοθέου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, i. e. *The Martyrdom of Timothy the Apoſtle*, of which we have an extract in Photius (Cod. ccliv.); "That when, after the death of Domitian, "Nerva became Emperor, John returned to Epheſus, from "which place he had been baniſhed by Domitian, he then "took the ſeveral books which contained the hiſtory of our "Saviour's ſufferings and miracles and doctrines, and were "now tranſlated into ſeveral different languages, reviewed "them, rectified them, and joined himſelf to the former three "Evangeliſts (by writing his Goſpel)." I confeſs I cannot

[a] Τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ἤδη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν διαδεδομένων, ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν φασιν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα· μόνην δὲ ἄρα λείπεσθαι τῇ γραφῇ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ κατ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπραγμένων διήγησιν — Παρακληθεῖτα δὴ οὖν τούτων ἕνεκα φησὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην, τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων εὐαγγελιστῶν παρασιωπηθέντα χρόνον, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοῦτον πεπραγμένα τῷ Σωτῆρι (ταῦτα δ' ἦν τὰ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ καθείρξεως) τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίῳ παραδοῦναι. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 24.

certainly

certainly determine the age of this book. There is a book extant, intitled *The Martyrdom of Timothy*, which goes under the name of Polycrates, a Biſhop of Epheſus, in the latter end of the ſecond century, out of which Photius ſeems to have made this extract; and if this be true, it makes the hiſtory more valid: but it muſt be owned that ſeveral learned men are of opinion this book was not made by Polycrates, into which it is not my buſineſs here to enquire.

2. St. POLYCARP.

II. The teſtimony of Polycarp, who, according to Irenæus [a], *was not only inſtructed by the Apoſtles, and acquainted with many who had ſeen Chriſt, but placed by the Apoſtles in Aſia, as Biſhop of Smyrna, whom*, ſays he, *I alſo ſaw when I was young*. He (Polycarp) expreſsly mentions together our four Goſpels and their authors thus: "[b] It was not without "reaſon that the Evangeliſts began their Goſpels different "ways; though the deſign of each of them was the ſame. "Matthew, becauſe he wrote to the Hebrews, began with the "genealogy of Chriſt, that he might evidence Chriſt to be "deſcended of that family, which all the Prophets had foretold "he ſhould deſcend from. John being fixed among the "Epheſians, who as Gentiles were ignorant of the law, be-"gan his Goſpel with an account of the cauſe of our redemp-"tion, viz. that God would have his Son become incarnate

[a] Καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑωρακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ. Adv. Hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3. et apud Euſeb. l. 4. c. 14.

[b] Rationabiliter Evangeliſtæ principiis diverſis utuntur, quamvis una eademque evangelizandi eorum probetur intentio. Matthæus, ut Hebræis ſcribens, genealogiæ Chriſti ordinem texuit, ut oſtenderet ab ea Chriſtum deſcendiſſe progenie, de qua eum naſciturum univerſi Prophetæ cecinerant. Joannes autem ad Epheſum conſtitutus, qui legem tanquam ex Gentibus ignorabant, a cauſa noſtræ redemptionis Evangelii ſumpſit exordium; quæ cauſa ex eo apparet, quod filium ſuum Deus pro noſtra ſalute voluit incarnari. Lucas vero a Zachariæ ſacerdotio incipit, ut ejus filii miraculo nativitatis, et tanti prædicatoris officio, Divinitatem Chriſti gentibus declararet. Unde et Marcus antiqua prophetici myſterii competentia adventui Chriſti declarat, ut non nova, ſed antiquitus [illegible] Prædicatio probaretur.

" for our ſalvation. Luke begins with the prieſthood of Za-
" charias, that by the account of his ſon's miraculous birth,
" and his being ſo conſiderable a preacher, he might evidence
" the divinity of Chriſt to the Gentiles. Mark began his
" Goſpel with the explication of ſome antient prophecies re-
" lating to the coming of Chriſt, that his Goſpel might ap-
" pear no new thing, but the ſame as had been of old." For this fragment of Polycarp we are obliged to Feuardentius, who in his notes on Irenæus, l. 3. c. 3. publiſhed it with ſome other fragments of Polycarp out of a very antient manuſcript of Victor Capuanus's Catena, upon the four Evangeliſts, which Catena he there promiſes to publiſh; but whether he did or no, I know not. Victor Capuanus lived, according to Feuardentius, in the year of Chriſt 480. Johan. Jacob. Grynæus (Præfat. in Orthodoxographa) places him ſooner, viz. A. D. 455; but Bellarmine [a], and Dr. Cave [b], place him near a hundred years later, viz. in the year 540, and 545, as alſo does Dr. Mill [c].

3. TATIAN.

III. That there were only the four Goſpels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, received in the middle part of the ſecond century, is evident from Tatian's Harmony, *which was made about that time.* He was a ſcholar of Juſtin Martyr, and συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεὶς, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν· ὁ καὶ παρά τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται (Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 29.) *compiled a certain harmony of the Goſpels, and called it,* The Goſpel of the Four; *which is even to this day in the hands of ſome.* The ſame account is alſo in Epiphanius, Hæreſ. 46. n. 1. There can be no reaſonable doubt but that theſe four were the Goſpels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; for not only the number agrees, but theſe were the only four Goſpels that ever were reduced to a harmony. Beſides, if the above-mentioned Victor Capuanus is to be credited, the Harmony of Tatian is ſtill extant; for that which he publiſhed in the fifth or ſixth cen-

[a] De Scriptor. Eccleſ. ad voc.
[b] Hiſt. Liter. tom. 1. p. 411.
[c] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſtam. §. 351.

tury,

tury, with a preface to prove it was wrote by Tatian, we have now printed among the *Orthodoxographa* [a]; and this contains our preſent four Goſpels, and no other. But I muſt own that I queſtion much, whether this be the work of Tatian, or no; for the genealogy of Chriſt is in this Harmony of Tatian [b], which was not in the antient one under his name [c].

It may indeed be objected that Victor Capuanus, in his preface to that which he thought to be the Harmony of Tatian, ſays, that *he gave his work the title of Diapente* [d]. *I find,* ſays he, *by the hiſtory of Euſebius, that Tatian, a very learned man and excellent orator of that time, compiled one Goſpel out of the four, to which he gave the title of Diapente, i. e.* of five; or, The Goſpel of Five: as though he had made his Harmony out of five Goſpels. Accordingly, I find that Grotius [e] has explained the word *Diapente*; *Tatian,* ſays he, *when he made one Goſpel out of four, followed not only the Greek, but the Hebrew copies of Matthew; whence it came to paſs that his work, which was commonly called* Διὰ Τεσσάρων, *or* The Goſpel of Four, *was by others called,* The Goſpel according to the Hebrews; *by others* Διὰ Πέντε, *or* The Goſpel of Five.

To this I anſwer, (1.) That though I queſtion not but Tatian made uſe of the Hebrew copies of St. Matthew, yet he made uſe of them as what he looked upon to be the moſt authentick and genuine, and ſo made no uſe of the Greek, as of another or fifth Goſpel. This is what I have conjectured, and endeavoured to prove in the firſt volume [f]; but all which can be concluded hence is, that by a miſtake he made uſe of an interpolated corrupt tranſlation of St. Matthew, in-

[a] Vol. 1. p. 659, &c.

[b] See chap. v. Orthodoxogr. p. 663.

[c] This I have obſerved already, Vol. I. Part II. ch. xxxix. p. 390.

[d] Ex hiſtoria quoque ejus (ſcil. Euſebii) comperi, quod Tatianus, vir eruditiſſimus, et orator illius temporis clariſſimus, unum ex quatuor compaginaverit Evangelium, cui titulum Diapente impoſuit. Orthodoxogr. p. 659.

[e] Puto autem Tatianum, cum ex quatuor Evangeliis unum concinnaret, ſecutum in Matthæi verbis non Græcos tantum, ſed et Hebræos codices, unde Evangelium illud quod vulgo Διὰ Τεσσάρων, *per Quatuor,* ab aliis dictum *ſecundum Hebræos,* ab aliis vero Διὰ Πέντε, *per Quinque.* Annot. in Titul. Matth.

[f] Loc. jam citat. p. 388, 389.

ſtead of the true Greek original, ſtill looking upon it as the work of that Evangeliſt, which is ſufficient to my purpoſe.

2. As to Grotius's conjecture, that it was called Διὰ Πέντε, or *The Goſpel of Five*, for the above-mentioned reaſon, it ſeems to me entirely to be founded upon a falſe reading; and that inſtead of Διὰ Πέντε we are to read in the preface of Victor Διὰ Τεσσάρων, as is well conjectured by Mr. Fabricius[a]. My reaſons for this correction are,

1. That Victor in his preface ſays, he found the account which he gives in the Hiſtory of Euſebius; *but there is no ſuch thing to be found in Euſebius*; but on the contrary he ſaith, *Tatian gave his work the title of* Διὰ Τεσσάρων, i. e. *The Goſpel of Four*. Either therefore Victor Capuanus was miſtaken, or elſe we muſt correct his words by thoſe of Euſebius, from whom he tranſcribed; i. e. for Διὰ Πέντε, muſt read Διὰ Τεσσάρων; *The Goſpel of Four*, and not *The Goſpel of Five*.

2. If Victor Capuanus had thought any thing of five Goſpels being in Tatian's work, he would not have ſaid expreſsly, "Unum ex quatuor compaginaverit Evangelium," *He compiled one out of four Goſpels.*

3. Theodoret (who lived in or not long before the time of Victor Capuanus, viz. about the year of Chriſt 450.) tells us, *He compoſed a Goſpel* τὸ Διὰ Τεσσάρων καλούμενον, i. e. which was called *The Goſpel of Four*[b].

Upon the whole then I conclude, there were but four Goſpels, viz. thoſe of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, in uſe in the Church in the time of Tatian, i. e. in the time of Juſtin Martyr, who was Tatian's maſter.

4. Irenæus.

IV. Irenæus, who was cotemporary with Tatian, has abundantly evidenced, that *there were no more than the four Goſpels*, which we now receive, *then received in the Church.*

[a] Cod Apoc. Nov. Teſt. tom. 1. p. 379.

[b] Hæretic. Fabul. lib. 1. c. 20. Beſides all I have ſaid on this head, it may not be amiſs to add the great Caſaubon's conjecture, or correction of this place, viz. That for Διὰ Πέντε we ſhould read Διὰ Πάντων, meaning that the title imported, The Goſpel of all the Four, or the whole entire Goſpel. Ad Baron. Annal. Ann. 31. N. 3.

He

He has wrote a large Chapter[a], intitled, *A proof that there can neither be more nor leſs than four Goſpels*; out of all which I ſhall only obſerve theſe two things; (1.) That he ſays the very Hereticks owned them, and cited them[b]; (2.) He calls them vain, ignorant, and impudent, who aſſert, that there are either more or fewer than theſe four Goſpels[c]. The fact therefore, which I am upon, being thus certain, I do not think myſelf obliged to ſay any thing concerning the allegorical arguments, which Irenæus makes uſe of to prove his point. Mr. Toland has bantered them[d], and Mr. Fabricius has ſhewn[e] that there is the like ſort of reaſoning upon that head in many of the antient Chriſtian writers; but (as Du Pin ſays[f]) "Theſe ſort of allegories have no other foundation "but mere fancy; and it is in vain to ſeek for any other rea- "ſon of the number four, than God's own will."

5. TERTULLIAN.

V. Tertullian has expreſsly determined *the number of Goſpels*, which were received by the Church in his time, *to four*. So (l. 4. *adv. Marcion.* c. 2.), "Nobis fidem ex Apoſtolis "Joannes et Matthæus inſinuant, ex Apoſtolicis Lucas et "Marcus inſtaurant;" i. e. *The credit of the Goſpel-hiſtory is confirmed to us by two that were Apoſtles, viz. Matthew and John, and two that were Apoſtolick men (i. e. companions of the Apoſtles) Mark and Luke:* and in the ſame book, c. 5. ſpeaking of the ſame four Goſpels, and naming them, he ſays, "Eadem auctoritas Eccleſiarum Apoſtolicarum cæteris quo- "que patrocinabatur Evangeliis;" i. e. that *they were patronized or confirmed by the authority of the Apoſtolick Churches.*

[a] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 11. Oſtenſio quod neque plura, nec minus quam quatuor poſſunt eſſe Evangelia.

[b] Ut et ipſi hæretici teſtimonium reddant eis, & ex ipſis egrediens unuſquiſque eorum conetur ſuam confirmare doctrinam. Lib. 3. c. 11.

[c] Vani omnes, & indocti, & inſuper audaces, qui fruſtrantur ſpecie Evangelii, & vel plures quam dictæ ſunt, vel rurſus pauciores inferunt perſonas Evangelii. Ad eund. loc.

[d] Amyntor, p. 50, &c.

[e] Cod. Apocr. N. T. tom. 1. p. 382, &c. et tom. 3. p. 555, &c.

[f] Hiſt. of the Can. vol. ii. c. 2. §. 2.

6. Clemens Alexandrinus.

VI. Clemens Alexandrinus (not long after Irenæus) is the next, whoſe teſtimony I ſhall produce; he, diſputing againſt Julius Caſſianus, who had cited a paſſage out of the Goſpel of the Egyptians in favour of the doctrine of the unlawfulneſs of marriage, replies; *Firſt*, ſays he, *I obſerve this is not in either of the four Goſpels delivered to us, but in the Goſpel according to the Egyptians* [a]; by which he, who knows that Clemens continually cites the four Goſpels which we now receive, and no other, will be eaſily induced to believe he here meant the ſame four. See the place at large above, Vol. I. Part II. Chap. XVI. p. 199.

7. Origen.

VII. Origen, the Scholar of Clemens Alexandrinus, has alſo confirmed the ſame; viz. that *though there were many Goſpels forged by the Hereticks, which*, ſays he, *we read, that we may not be thought ignorant*, Eccleſia quatuor habet Evangelia, i. e. *the Church receives only four Goſpels* [b]; and a little after, Quatuor tantum Evangelia ſunt prolata, e quibus ſub perſona Domini et Salvatoris noſtri proferenda ſunt dogmata: *There are only four Goſpels made uſe of, out of which the articles of our Religion as from Jeſus Chriſt are to be propoſed.* Once more a few lines after; In his omnibus nihil aliud probamus niſi quod Eccleſia, i. e. quatuor tantum Evangelia recipienda; *Among all theſe Goſpels we approve none but thoſe which the Church approves*; viz. that only the four Goſpels are to be received. It would be madneſs for any one, who ever ſaw Origen's works, to aſk what four Goſpels he meant. Beſides that, he elſewhere τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλάττων κανόνα, ſpeaking of, or *reciting the Canon of the Church*, names theſe four Goſpels, ἃ καὶ μόνα ἀναντίῤῥητά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐρανὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, i. e. *which four alone are received without controverſy in the church of God, which is all over the world.* Comment. in Matth. apud Euſeb. H. E. l. 6. c. 25.

[a] Strom. lib. 3. p. 465.

[b] Homil. in Luc. i. 1.

8. Euse-

8. EUSEBIUS.

VIII. Euſebius (who lived in the beginning of the fourth century) expreſsly excludes all other Goſpels from the Canon beſides thoſe four which we now receive, but places them among the books which were without any controverſy received by the conſent of the whole Church [a].

9. ATHANASIUS.

IX. In the Synopſis under the name of Athanaſius, the author tells us, that all *the Goſpels which are read by any, are rather fit to be concealed than read, except the four alone which have been delivered to us.*

10. AMBROSE.

X. This Father in his preface to his Commentary on Luke has almoſt tranſcribed Origen's words on the ſame place; accordingly he ſaith, *that though the Hereticks have many Goſpels, the Church hath only four, &c.* [b]

11. JEROME.

XI. In the preface to his Tranſlation of the Goſpels he mentions ſome falſe Goſpels, viz. thoſe of Lucianus and Heſychius (ſee above, Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XXII.), and promiſes, *he will only be concerned with four, which,* ſays he, *are in the following order, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John* [c].

It would be endleſs to cite the many numerous proofs that may be eaſily produced out of the Fathers of the fourth century. He that has a mind may ſee farther proof of this matter, in the places of Epiphanius [d], Jerome [e], Chryſoſtom [f], and Auſtin [g], which are cited in the margin, and in the ſeveral

[a] Vid. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 24, 25. et alibi paſſim.

[b] Procem. Comment. in Luc. in Init.

[c] Præfat. in Evang. ad Damaſum.

[d] Hæreſ. 51. §. 4, &c.

[e] Præf. in Comm. in Matth. Comm. in Ezek. l. 10. et Epiſt. ad Paulin. de ſtud. Scriptur. This laſt Epiſtle is commonly prefixed to the Vulgate.

[f] In Matth. i. N. B. Theophylact has, according to his old cuſtom, tranſcribed this of Chryſoſtom concerning the four Evangeliſts' agreement, which I refer to, into his preface on Matthew.

[g] De Conſenſ. Evangel. lib. 1. c. 2, 6. & Tract. 36. in Joan.

Cata-

Catalogues of Origen, Euſebius, Athanaſius, Cyril, that of the Council of Laodicea, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Philaſtrius, Jerome, Auſtin, Ruffin, that of the third Council of Carthage, and the works of Dionyſius the Areopagite, which I have collected in the firſt Volume, Part I. Ch. VIII p. 60, &c.

CHAP. I.

Who Matthew was. Heracleon, Origen, and Grotius, miſtaken in ſuppoſing Matthew and Levi to be the Names of two Perſons. He was a Jew. In what Countries he preached, and where he died: mentioned in the Talmud. The occaſion of St. Matthew's writing his Goſpel.

BEFORE I come to the Goſpels themſelves, and the proof of their authority, it ſeems to me neceſſary, that ſome account be given of the author. Accordingly, I ſhall now begin with ſome ſhort relations or accounts concerning St. Matthew, the author of this Goſpel. Beſides what we have in the Canonical Goſpels, there is not much that can be depended upon now left concerning him. The Popiſh legends, and the fabulous writers of later ages, will afford us accounts ſufficiently particular; but diſregarding all theſe, I ſhall only mention ſuch things as ſeem to be more credible, and built upon better foundations. The account we have of him in his Goſpel is, that *Jeſus at Capernaum ſaw a man named Matthew ſitting at the receipt of cuſtom, and ſaid unto him, Follow me; and he aroſe and followed him.* Matt. ix. 9. The other Evangeliſts (viz. Mark ii. 14. and Luke v. 27, 28.) relate the ſame hiſtory; only they, inſtead of Matthew, give him the name of Levi, which ſeems to have been his ſurname, or another name, by which he was as commonly called. It is a thing well known, that the Jews were wont to call a perſon by

by more names than one; *e. g.* Moſes's father in law is called Jethro, Exod. iii. 1. and Num. x. 29. he is called Hobab; and David's ſon, who is called 2 Sam. iii. 3. Chileab, goes under the name of Daniel, 1 Chron. iii. 1. Simon was alſo called Peter, Matt. x. 2. Lebbeus was ſurnamed Thaddeus, ver. 3, &c. which ſurname, or ſecond name, ſeems to have been added to diſtinguiſh them from others, who had the ſame firſt name. I have mentioned this, becauſe ſome, both antient and modern writers, have imagined Matthew and Levi to have been two different perſons: thus Heracleon, an early heretick of the ſecond century, and a remarkable perſon in the ſchool of Valentinus, ſpeaking of thoſe diſciples of Chriſt, who were not called to a publick acknowledgment or confeſſion of Chriſt (by Martyrdom), names Matthew, Philip, Thomas, and Levi [a]; and Origen, diſcourſing particularly of Chriſt's Apoſtles, firſt mentions Matthew the publican, and afterwards names Levi the publican, but denies him to have been an Apoſtle; Ἔσω δὲ καὶ ὁ Λευὶς τελώνης ἀκολουθήσας τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτῷ ἦν, εἰ μὴ κατά τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου [b], *Levi alſo the publican, who followed Jeſus, but was not of the number of his Apoſtles, unleſs (we follow) ſome copies of Mark's Goſpel.* Among the moderns, Grotius is of this opinion [c]; but it is eaſy to refute it, by obſerving not only that the *circumſtances of the fact are ſo exactly the ſame as related* by the three Evangeliſts, but that *they agree preciſely as to the time*, and all that which happened immediately before and after his call by Chriſt, viz. all the three Evangeliſts agree, that this call was as our Saviour was going out of Capernaum immediately after the curing of the paralytick; and the ſeveral hiſtories, which St. Matthew relates to have happened after his call by Chriſt (viz. that Chriſt went *to eat with publicans and ſinners, the Phariſees cenſuring him for it, his juſtification of himſelf, the diſciples of John coming to Chriſt with a queſtion about faſting, Chriſt's anſwer, &c.)*, are all related by St. Mark and St. Luke after the call

[a] Apud Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. 4. p. 502.

[b] Adv. Celſ. l. 1. p. 48.

[c] Annot. in Matt. ix. 9.

of Levi; and this affords us the higheſt evidence, that Matthew and Levi were the ſame perſon. It is ſtrange indeed that Heracleon and Origen ſhould fall into ſuch a miſtake; but this is very rationally accounted for by Cotelerius[a] and Mr. Dodwell[b]; to whom, together with Dr. Whitby's[c] remarks on this opinion of Grotius, I refer the reader, who has a mind to examine farther into this matter.

The two names of this Evangeliſt, as alſo that of his father (viz. Alpheus, Mark ii. 14.), evince him to have been originally a Jew (it being certain that the Romans very frequently put the natives of the conquered provinces into ſuch offices, under the principal officers who were generally Romans), although I obſerve, that in two antient manuſcripts which Cotelerius *(in Conſtit. Apoſtol.* l. 2. c. 63.) has publiſhed out of the French King's library, Numb. 1789 and 1026, which recite the country and parents of the twelve Apoſtles, there is the following account of Matthew, Ματθαῖος ὁ καὶ Λευὶς, τελώνης τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐκ πατρὸς Ῥάκε, μητρὸς δὲ Χαιροθείας, ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, *i. e. Matthew, called alſo Levi, a publican, whoſe father was Rucus, and mother Chærotheia, born in Galilee*; both which are plainly Gentile names.

After he was called to be an Apoſtle, he continued in that office till our Saviour's aſcenſion in Judea; and if there be any credit to be given to the accounts of the antients, he continued there eight years afterward; whither he then went is not certain: Ruffin[d] affirms that he went into Ethiopia, and in this he is followed by the writers of ſucceeding ages, Socrates, Simeon Metaphraſtes, Abdias Babylonicus, &c. which laſt has given us a very particular account of his preaching, miracles, and ſucceſs in the converſion of multitudes there; his building a church there (viz. at Nadabbar, the capital city), and calling it the Reſurrection, becauſe the raiſing of the ſon of King Æglippus from the dead was the occaſion of it. [e]He preached Chriſt in Hierapolis, a city of Syria, and ſuffered

[a] Annot. in Conſtit. Apoſt. l. 8. c. 22.
[b] Diſſert. I. in Iren. §. 24.
[c] Annot. on Luke v. 27. See alſo Dr. Mill on Mark ii. 14.
[d] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 9.
[e] Vid. Abdiæ Hiſtor. Certam. Apoſtol. l. 7. per tot.

martyrdom

martyrdom there, according to a Greek manuſcript under the name of Dorotheus, Biſhop of Tyre (who lived in the beginning of the fourth century), which was tranſcribed by Mr. Dodwell, and by him given to Dr. Cave, who has publiſhed it with a Latin Verſion, and ſome Notes upon it [a]; though, according to the common editions of the Synopſis of Dorotheus, he died a natural death, and was buried with great honour at Hierapolis, a city of Parthia [b]; and this, viz. his dying without martyrdom, is plainly intimated in the paſſage of Heracleon above cited out of Clemens Alexandrinus. I have nothing farther to add under this head, but that which the Father laſt cited tells us of St. Matthew's great temperance and abſtemiouſneſs, viz. *that he eat no fleſh, but that his uſual food was acorns, ſeeds, and herbs* [c]; and that, according to Dr. Lightfoot [d], there is mention of him in the *Talmud Bab. Sanhedr. fol.* 43. 1. The Rabbins ſay, that Jeſus had five diſciples, which are there called by them מתאי נקאי נצר זבוני ותודה viz. Matthai (or Matthew), Nakai, Nezer, and Boni, and Thodah. Theſe (they ſay there) were all puniſhed with death. By theſe five diſciples Dr. Lightfoot ſuppoſes they meant thoſe diſciples who were moſt converſant in Judea, viz. Matthew, who wrote his Goſpel there, Peter, James, John, and Jude [e].

The cauſe or occaſion of St. Matthew's writing his Goſpel is generally agreed upon by the antient writers, who have made any mention of the matter, viz. that he *wrote it at Jeruſalem for the ſake of the convert Jews, who deſired him to write it, when he was about to travel to the Gentile countries, to preach the Goſpel.* So Origen [f]; "The firſt Goſpel "was written by Matthew, firſt a publican, then an Apoſtle "of Jeſus Chriſt, and publiſhed among the converted Jews in

[a] Hiſt. Lit. vol. i. p. 114, & 121.

[b] Doroth. de vit. ac mort. Prophet. et Apoſtol. Biblioth. Patr. vol. vii. ad voc. Matth.

[c] Pædagog. l. 2. c. 1. p. 148, Σπερμάτων, καὶ ἀκροδρύων, καὶ λαχάνων, ἄνευ κρεῶν μετελάμβανεν.

[d] Hor. Hebr. in Matth. ix. 9.

[e] According to Abdias Babylonicus, lib. 7. cap. 14. he was run through the back in the Temple at Nadabbar in Ethiopia, by a ſoldier, by the order of the King Hyrtacus, whoſe marriage with Iphigenia, his brother's Daughter, St. Matthew oppoſed, ſhe being a Nun.

[f] Expoſit. in Matth. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 6. c. 25.

"Hebrew."

" Hebrew." Euſebius is more particular[a]; he tells us, " That " the Apoſtles were not much inclined to write books.— " That Paul wrote only a few ſhort Epiſtles.—That of all " our Lord's diſciples Matthew and John only have left us " any written memoirs, and it is ſaid, they were compelled by " ſome ſort of neceſſity to write what they did; for Matthew " having firſt preached to the Hebrews, when he determined " to travel into other countries, publiſhed his Goſpel in the " language of his country, and left it with them to ſupply the " want of his own preſence among them." To the ſame purpoſe Jerome[b]; " Matthew, ſurnamed Levi, was the firſt who " publiſhed a Goſpel, and that in Judea, in the Hebrew lan- " guage, principally for the ſake of thoſe Jews who were con- " verted, and did not regard the truth of the Goſpel (but ob- " ſerved the Law alſo), though the Law, as being but a ſha- " dow, was aboliſhed."

CHAP. II.

St. Matthew's Goſpel of Canonical Authority. It is in all the antient Catalogues of Sacred Books. It is cited by the primitive Fathers; viz. ſeven times in the Epiſtle of Barnabas, twice in the firſt Epiſtle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, eight times in the Fragment of the ſecond, eight times in the Shepherd of Hermas, ſix times in Polycarp's ſmall Epiſtle to the Philippians, twice in a Fragment of his Reſponſiones, and ſeven times in the Leſſer Epiſtles of Ignatius.

HAVING given ſome account of the Author of this Goſpel, I proceed now to eſtabliſh its authority, which I hope will be effectually done by the following arguments.

ARG. I. St. Matthew's Goſpel is of Canonical authority, becauſe *it is in all the Catalogues of Canonical books which we*

[a] Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 24. [b] Præf. in Comm. in Matth.

have

have among the writings of the primitive Chriſtians. Prop. IV. Theſe Catalogues, viz. that of Origen, Euſebius, Athanaſius, Cyrill, the Council of Laodicea, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Philaſtrius, Jerome, Ruffin, Auſtin, the third Council of Carthage, and the author of the books under the name of Dionyſius the Areopagite, I have collected them, Vol. I. Part I. Ch. VIII. and there referred to the ſeveral places where theſe Catalogues at large are to be found, and in every one of them the Goſpel of St. Matthew is enumerated.

Arg. II. The Goſpel of St. Matthew is Canonical, becauſe *it is cited as Scripture in the writings of the primitive Chriſtian Fathers.* Prop. V.

I have obſerved, Part I. Ch. V. p. 42. and Ch. IX. p. 65. that Mr. Dodwell [a], and from him Mr. Toland [b] have endeavoured in a good meaſure to rob us of this argument, by aſſerting, "That the firſt writers of Chriſtianity had no certain "Canon, or collection of ſacred Scriptures of the New Teſ- "tament, which they cited; the Apocryphal writings being "bound in the ſame volume with the Apoſtles' writings; "that in Hermas there is not one place of the New Teſta- "ment quoted, nor in either of the other is any Evangeliſt "named: and if they do perhaps produce any places, which "are like ſome in our Goſpels, yet you will find them ſo "changed, and ſo much interpolated, that it is impoſſible to "know whether they took them out of ours, or ſome other "Apocryphal Goſpels. But it is certain they ſometimes "uſed the Apocryphal books, and cited what is not in our "Goſpels,—if they cite ſometimes any paſſages, which agree

[a] Sic autem vera Apoſtolorum Scripta cum Apocryphis in iiſdem voluminibus compingi ſolebant, ut nulla prorſus nota aut cenſura Eccleſiæ publica conſtaret, quæ quibus eſſent anteferenda. Habemus hodieque horum temporum Scriptores Eccleſiaſticos luculentiſſimos, Clementem Romanum, Barnabam, Hermam, Ignatium, Polycarpum —At Novi Teſtamenti in Herma ne quidem unum locum invenieris; apud reliquos ne unum quidem Evangeliſtam nomine ſuo compellatum. Et ſi quos locos forte proferant, quibus ſimilia in noſtris leguntur Evangeliis, ita tamen illos muratos ut plurimum interpolatoſque reperies, ut ſciri nequeat, an e noſtris illos, an ex aliis produxerint Apocryphis Evangeliis, &c. *Diſſert. in Iren.* 1. §. 39, &c.

[b] Amyntor, p. 69, &c.

"with

"with our Canonical Goſpels, that was not done by any "deſign, ſo as to evidence that they intended to confirm diſ- "putable points out of Canonical books; ſo that perhaps thoſe "very paſſages, which ſeem to be taken out of our Goſpels, "were taken out of others, &c."

Dr. Grabe[a] and Dr. Mill[b] have adopted the ſame ſentiments into their ſcheme, the deſign of which, with a confutation of it, the reader may ſee above in the firſt Diſſertation prefixed to this Part. The reaſon of my mentioning it here, is, becauſe I am now entering upon the particular proof of their citing the books of our preſent Canon; and as I have Vol. I. Part II. ſhewn, that the primitive Chriſtians have not cited any Apocryphal books, ſo I ſhall endeavour now to ſhew, that they have cited and referred to thoſe which we now receive, and for that purpoſe ſhall tranſcribe and ſet down the very words, with the manner of their being cited or introduced, together with the words of our Canonical books, which I take to be referred to, in a parallel column.

N. B. I have ſet down the citations at length only of thoſe which are called the Apoſtolick Fathers, becauſe the citations in the other Fathers are ſo plain and ſo numerous, that there can be about them no diſpute; and though I do not believe the writings under the names of Clemens Romanus, Barnabas, Polycarp, Hermas, and Ignatius, are all genuine, and of that age to which they pretend; yet as they are undoubtedly very antient, and referred to by ſome of the earlieſt Fathers, I thought it proper to give them the firſt place in my collection.

[a] Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 322.
[b] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. §. 138, &c.

A Cata-

A Catalogue of the ſeveral places of St. Matthew's Goſpel, which are cited or referred to in the writings of the Apoſtolick Fathers.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*	BARNABAS's *Epiſtle.*
I. Ch. xxiv. 22. Κολοβωθήσονται αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι: i. e. *Thoſe days ſhall be ſhortened.*	I. Ch. iv. Dominus intercidet tempora et dies; i. e. *The Lord will ſhorten thoſe times and days.* That which proves this a reference to St. Matthew is, that the author adds it upon a citation out of Dan. ix. which is the very ſame on account of which our Lord is related by St. Matthew to have ſaid it[a].
II. Ch. xx. 16. and xxii. 14. Πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι κλητοὶ, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί: i. e. *For many are called, but few are choſen.*	II. Ch. iv. Sicut ſcriptum eſt, *Multi vocati, pauci electi*; i. e. as it is written, *Many are called, but few are choſen.*
	N. B. *The reaſon why theſe two citations are put in Latin, is, becauſe we have not the Greek of Barnabas till the middle of the fifth chapter.*
III. Ch. ix. 13. Οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν: *For I came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance.*	III. Ch. v. Ἵνα δείξῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθε καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν: i. e. *that he might ſhew, that he came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance*[b].

IV.

[a] Reſpiciunt hæc verba Domini. Matt. xxiv. 2. Fell in loc.

[b] The preceding context in that place of Barnabas plainly refers alſo to this in St. Matthew; for whereas it is there ſaid, that when Chriſt

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

IV. Ch. xxvi. 31. Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης: *I will ſmite the ſhepherd, and the ſheep of the flock ſhall be ſcattered abroad.*

BARNABAS's *Epiſtle.*

IV. Ch. v. Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, τότε σκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης: i. e. *I will ſmite the ſhepherd, then the ſheep of the flock ſhall be ſcattered abroad.*

If it be objected here, that this author might take this, as our Saviour did, out of Zechariah xiii. 7. and not out of St Matthew's Goſpel, I anſwer, that this cannot be ſuppoſed, becauſe in the Hebrew the verb הך is in the ſecond perſon, and the imperative mood, and accordingly the LXX: and all the Greek Verſions have rendered it in the imperative mood, *Smite the ſhepherd*; whereas Barnabas places that verb in the firſt perſon of the future tenſe, πατάξω, *I will ſmite*, which could only proceed from his citing and following St Matthew, where we read πατάξω, *I will ſmite.* Hugo Menardus *(in loc. Barnab.)* has made a like obſervation upon the word διασκορπισθήσεται, viz. of this author's following Matthew, which is yet more evi-

Chriſt choſe his Apoſtles, he took thoſe who were exceeding great ſinners, it muſt needs be that he refers to the call of Matthew, and Chriſt's being cenſured for going to his houſe, and ſupping with him and other ſinners. See Orig. contr. Celſ. lib. 1. p. 49. and the Appendix to the firſt Volume, p. 412.— See alſo Toland's Amyntor, p. 44. and Richardſon's Anſwer, p. 105, 106.

dent,

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

V. Ch. xxvii. 54. Ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ υἱὸς ἦν οὗτος: i. e. *Truly, this was the Son of God.*

VI. Ch. xxii. 43, 44, 45. Chriſt proves himſelf to be the Lord from Pſal. cx. 1. *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, ſit thou, &c.* Εἰ οὖν Δαβὶδ καλεῖ αὐτὸν Κύριον, &c. *If then David calls him Lord, &c.*

VII. Ch. v. 42. Τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου: i. e. *Give to him that aſketh thee.*

BARNABAS's *Epiſtle.*

dent, if our Cambridge edition of the LXX. be right, which has inſtead of that verb in the future tenſe, the verb ἐκπειράσατε in the imperative mood.

V. Ch. VII. Ἀληθῶς οὗτος ἦν, ὁ τότε λέγων ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ εἶναι: i. e. *Truly this was he, who then ſaid, he was the Son of God.*

The words in St Matthew are a confeſſion of Chriſt extorted from the centurion at Chriſt's crucifixion, and the words in Barnabas are alſo a confeſſion extorted from the Jews; ſo that there can be no doubt but he had read and referred to St Matthew here.

VI. Ch. xii. This author cites the ſame words of the Pſalmiſt, and concludes, Ἴδε πῶς λέγει Δαβὶδ αὐτὸν Κύριον, &c. *See how David calls him Lord,* &c. Which is an argument ſo exactly agreeing with our Saviour's both in ſenſe and words, that one cannot ſuppoſe but that this author took it from St. Matthew, or at leaſt from St. Mark (xii. 36.) or St. Luke (xx. 42.).

VII. Ch. xix. Παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου: i. e. *Give to every one that aſketh thee*

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

I. Ch. vi. 14. *If ye forgive men their treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father will alſo forgive you.* Ch. vii. 1. *Judge not, leſt ye be judged:* ver. 2. *With what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again.*

II. Ch. xviii. 6, 7. Ὃς δ' ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμὲ, συμφέρει αὐτῷ ἵνα κρεμασθῇ μύλος ὀνικὸς ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταποντισθῇ ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῆς θαλάσσης. Οὐαὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων, &c. i. e. *But whoſo ſhall offend one of theſe little ones, which believe in me, it were better for him that a millſtone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the ſea. Wo unto the world becauſe of offences, &c.*

The firſt Epiſtle of CLEMENS ROMANUS *to the Corinthians.*

I. Ch. xiii. Forgive, that ye may be forgiven; as ye judge, ſo ye ſhall be judged; with what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again.

Clemens adviſes the Corinthians here, to remember theſe and other ſayings of the Lord Jeſus.

II. Ch. xlvi. Μνήσθητε τῶν λόγων Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. Εἶπε γάρ· Οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη, ἢ ἕνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι· κρεῖττον ἦν· αὐτῷ περιτεθῆναι μύλον, καὶ καταποντισθῆναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι: i. e. Remember the words of the Lord Jeſus; for he ſaid, *Wo to that man; it had been better for him if he had not been born, than that he ſhould offend one of my elect. It were better for him that a millſtone were put upon him (his neck), and that he were drowned in the ſea, than to have offended one of theſe little ones.*

Cotelerius obſerves upon this place of Clemens, that he has here, according to the common practice of the antients,

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

The firſt Epiſtle of CLEMENS ROMANUS *to the Corinthians.*

tients, joined ſeveral texts of Scripture together; and that he made uſe in this collection of the Goſpels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; and this is not improbable; however it is certain, that he makes uſe of another place of St. Matthew, (viz. xxvi. 24.) the words, *It had been better for him if he had not been born*, being there ſpoke of Judas Iſcariot, and in neither of the three Evangeliſts ſpeaking of offences.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

The ſecond Epiſtle of CLEMENS ROMANUS *to the Corinthians.*

I. Ch. xviii. 11. Chriſt came σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός: i. e. *to ſave that (or thoſe) which were loſt.*

I. Ch. i. Chriſt has done us this advantage, ἀπολλυμένους ἡμᾶς ἔσωσεν: i. e. *He has ſaved us who were loſt.*

II. Ch. ix. 13. Οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν: i. e. *For I came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance.*

II. Ch. ii. Καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει· Ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς: i. e. And another Scripture ſaith, *I came not to call the righteous, but ſinners.*

III. Ch. x. 32. Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς: i. e. *Whoſoever therefore ſhall confeſs me before men,*

III. Ch. iii. Λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτός· Τὸν ὁμολογήσαντά μοι ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου: i. e. For he himſelf ſaith, *Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men,*

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

him will I confeſs before my father, which is in heaven.

IV. Ch. vii. 21. Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς: i. e. *Not every one that ſaith unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father, who is in heaven.*

V. Ch. vii. 23. Οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς· ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν: i. e. *I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity.*

VI. Ch. x. 16, 26, 28. Ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων·—26. Μὴ οὖν φοβηθῆτε αὐτούς·—28. Καὶ μὴ φοβήθητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτεῖναι· φοβήθητε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γεέννῃ: i. e. *Behold, I ſend you forth as ſheep in the*

The ſecond Epiſtle of CLEMENS ROMANUS *to the Corinthians.*

men, him will I confeſs before my Father.

IV. Ch. iv. Λέγει γάρ· Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, σωθήσεται, ἀλλὰ ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην: i. e. For (the Lord) ſaith, *Not every one that ſaith unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall be ſaved, but he that worketh righteouſneſs.*

V. Ch. iv. Ὑπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς, πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται ἀνομίας: i. e. *Depart from me, I know ye not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.*

This ſeems to be a citation, like that above out of the firſt Epiſtle, No. 2, if it was not taken out of Luke, (ſee the Appendix to Vol. I. p. 412, 415.) the words πόθεν ἐστέ being in Luke xiii. 27. and not in Matthew.

VI. Ch. v. Ἔσεσθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων.—Μὴ φοβείσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τὸν λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν· ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γεέννην πυρός: i. e. *Ye ſhall be as lambs in the midſt*

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

midſt of wolves — 26. *Fear them not therefore*; — 28. *And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoul; but rather fear him, which is able to deſtroy both ſoul and body in hell.*

VII. Ch. xvi. 26. Τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ; i. e. *For what is a man profited, if he ſhould gain the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul?*

VIII. Ch. xii. 50. Ὅσις γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, αὐτός μου ἀδελφὸς, καὶ ἀδελφὴ, καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν: i. e. *For whoſoever ſhall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the ſame is my brother and ſiſter and mother.*

The ſecond Epiſtle of CLEMENS ROMANUS *to the Corinthians.*

midſt of wolves:—Let not the lambs fear the wolves after death, and do not ye fear thoſe who (can) kill you, and (afterwards) can do you no harm; but fear him who has power, after your death, to caſt both ſoul and body into hell fire.

In the midſt of this paſſage there is a queſtion of Peter to Chriſt, viz. What if the wolves ſhould tear in pieces the lambs? but concerning this, ſee the Appendix to Vol. I. p. 413, 415.

VII. Ch. vi. Τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, ἐάν τις τὸν ὅλον κόσμον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιώσῃ; i. e. *For what will it profit a man, if he ſhould gain the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul?*

VIII. Ch. ix. Καὶ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· ἀδελφοί μου ἔτοι εἰσιν, οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου: i. e. For the Lord hath ſaid, *They are my brethren, who do the will of my Father.*

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

I. Ch. v. 28. *But I ſay unto you, that whoſoever looketh on a woman to luſt after*

The Shepherd of HERMAS.

I. Lib. I. Viſ. i. s. 1. An non videtur tibi, viro juſto rem iniquam eſſe, ſi aſconderit

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.

N. B. The Greek of Hermas not being extant, but only a Latin Verſion, I judged there could be no neceſſity of inſerting St. Matthew's Greek.

II. Ch. x. 32, 33. *Whoſoever therefore ſhall confeſs me before men, him will I confeſs alſo before my Father which is in heaven: but whoſoever ſhall deny me before men, him will I alſo deny before my Father which is in heaven.*

III. Ch. xiii. 21, 22. *Yet hath he not root in himſelf, but dureth for a while; for*

The Shepherd of HERMAS.

in corde mala concupiſcentia? i. e. Does it not ſeem to you to be a ſin, *for a good man to have luſtful inclinations in his heart?*

He who conſiders that this is ſaid by a woman, who expreſsly in the words before charges Hermas with ſin againſt God and her, not for fornication (for this he denies), but for having deſired or having in his heart luſted after her, will eaſily ſee there is a reference to Chriſt's words.

II. Lib. i. Viſ. ii. §. 2. Juravit enim Dominus per Filium ſuum: qui denegaverit filium et ſe, deſpondens vitam illius, et ipſe denegaturus eſt illum, in advenientibus diebus. Ii autem qui nunquam denegaverint; ob nimiam miſericordiam propitius factus eſt illis; i. e. The Lord hath ſworn by his Son, *that whoſoever ſhall deny his Son and him, being afraid of his life, he will alſo deny him in the world to come; but thoſe who ſhall never deny him, he will then of his great mercy receive them into his favour.*

III. Lib. i. Viſ. iii. §. 6. Hi ſunt habentes quidem fidem, habentes autem et divitias

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

when tribulation or perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, by and by he is offended; he alſo that received the word among the thorns, is he that heareth the word, and the care of this world and the deceitfulneſs of riches choak the word, &c.

IV. Ch. xxvi. 24. *Wo unto that man—it had been good for that man if he had not been born.*

V. Ch. v. 28. *I ſay unto you, that whoſoever looketh on a woman to luſt after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.*

The Shepherd of HERMAS.

tias hujus ſeculi; cum ergo venerit tribulatio, propter divitias ſuas et negotiationes abnegant Dominum; i. e. *They are perſons profeſſing Chriſtianity (i. e. who own the word), but having alſo the riches of this world, when tribulation ariſeth (on account of the word), by reaſon of their riches and worldly cares they deny the Lord, or* (which is the ſame) *are offended.*

IV. Lib. i. Viſ. iv. §. 2. Væ iis—melius erat illis non naſci; i. e. *Wo unto them—for it had been better for theſe men they had not been born.*

The phraſe is evidently borrowed from St. Matthew.

V. Lib. ii. Mandat. iv. §. 1. Non aſcendat tibi cogitatio cordis de alieno matrimonio, aut de fornicatione; hæc enim parit peccatum magnum. —Si enim hæc cogitatio in cor tuum aſcenderit tam mala, magnum peccatum facis; i. e. *Let not any purpoſe be entertained in thy mind of committing adultery, or fornication, for even this purpoſe produceth a great ſin.—And if ſuch evil purpoſe be in thy mind, thou committeſt great ſin.* See above out of this book of Hermas, No 1.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

VI. Ch. xix. 9. *Whoſoever ſhall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and ſhall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoſo marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery.* See Matt. v. 23.

VII. Ch. xxi. 22. *All things whatſoever ye ſhall aſk in prayer, believing* (i. e. as in ver. 21. not doubting), *ye ſhall receive.*

The Shepherd of HERMAS.

VI. Lib. ii. Mandat. iv. §. 1. Si permanſerit in vitio ſuo mulier — dimittat illam vir, et vir per ſe maneat. Quod ſi dimiſerit mulierem ſuam, et aliam duxerit, et ipſe mœchatur—propter hoc præceptum eſt vobis, ut cœlibes maneatis, tum vir, tum mulier; poteſt enim in hujuſmodi pœnitentia eſſe; i. e. *If a wife ſhall perſiſt in adulterous practices, a huſband may put her away, and live alone; but if he ſhall marry another woman, he committeth adultery—*

Mr. Nye has in part obſerved this place of Hermas, and ſays, no doubt it was taken from St. Luke xvi. 18. See his Defence of the Canon againſt Amyntor, p. 48.

VII. Lib. ii. Mandat. ix. Tolle a te dubitationem, et nihil omnino dubites — pete ſine dubitatione — petitionem animæ tuæ adimplebit — ex omnibus petitionibus tuis nihil deerit tibi, ſi ſine dubitatione petieris a Domino; i. e. *Remove from thee all doubting, and doubt not at all—aſk without doubting (or in faith), and (God) will grant thy requeſts —all things whatſoever thou ſhalt aſk ſhall be given thee, if thou*

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

VIII. Ch. xxi. 33. *The parable of the vineyard.*

IX. Ch. xvi. 18. *And upon this rock I will build my Church.*

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

I. See above under Clemens Romanus, Epiſt. I. No. 2.

II. Ch. v. 3, 10. Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. 10. Μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν: i. e. *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.* ver. 10. *Bleſſed are they who are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*

III. Ch. vi. 12. Καὶ ἄφες

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thou aſk them of the Lord without doubting (or in faith).

VIII. Lib. iii. Simil. v. §. 2. He ſeems to have borrowed the ſimilitude from the parable of our Saviour referred to in the oppoſite column.

IX. Lib. iii. Simil. ix. The Church is compared to a tower built upon a rock. See §. 2, 3, 12, 13, 14.

The Epiſtle of POLYCARP *to the Philippians.*

I. Cap. ii. The words in Polycarp are near the ſame with thoſe referred to in the parallel column. I only obſerve, that he introduces them, Μνημονεύσαντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος διδάσκων: i. e. *Remember the things which the Lord ſaid in his teaching (or Sermon on the mount).*

II. Cap. ii. Immediately after the preceding words he cites farther; Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ, καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ: i. e. *Bleſſed are the poor (in ſpirit), and they who are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of God.*

III. Cap. vi. [Εἰ ὧν δεόμεθα

τοῦ

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*	*The Epiſtle of* POLYCARP *to the Philippians.*
ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν: i. e. *And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors*; and ver. 14. *For if ye forgive men their treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father will alſo forgive you.*	τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἵνα ἡμῖν ἀφῇ, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι: i. e. *If therefore we pray to the Lord that he would forgive us, we ought likewiſe to forgive others.*
IV. Ch. vi. 13. Καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν: *And lead us not into temptation.*	IV. Cap. vii. Δεήσεσιν αἰτούμενοι τὸν παντεπόπτην Θεὸν, μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν: Earneſtly praying to the all-ſeeing God, *not to lead us into temptation.*
V. Ch. xxvi. 41. Τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής; i. e. *The ſpirit truly is willing, but the fleſh is weak.*	V. Cap. vii. Καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· Τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής: i. e. As the Lord hath ſaid, *The ſpirit truly is willing, but the fleſh is weak.*
VI. Ch. v. 44. Προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς, καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς: i. e. *Pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you and perſecute you.*	VI. Ch. xii. Orate—pro perſequentibus et odientibus vos; i. e. *Pray for thoſe who perſecute you and hate you.*

After theſe it will not be improper to add, that in the Fragments of the Reſponſiones of Polycarp, publiſhed by Feuardentius in Irenæus, lib. 3. c. 3. I find two places of St. Matthew's Goſpel expounded, or paraphraſed; viz.

1. Matthæus Dominum dixiſſe teſtatur, quod Moyſes ſcribit Adam loquutum fuiſſe hoc modo; Hoc nunc os ex oſſibus meis, et caro ex carne	1. Matthew teſtifies that our Lord ſaid, *It was written by Moſes, that Adam ſaid thus; This now is bone of my bone, and fleſh of my fleſh; for this cauſe*

mea; propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, &c.

2. Calicem meum bibetis, &c. Per hujuſmodi potum ſignificat paſſionem &c.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

I. Ch. xviii. 19. *If two of you ſhall agree on earth, as touching any thing that they ſhall aſk, it ſhall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven; for where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them.*

II. Ch. xii. 33. Ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται: i. e. *For the tree is known by its fruit.*

III. Ch. xxiii. 8, 10. Εἷς γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῶν ὁ καθηγητής: i. e. *For one is your maſter.*

IV. Ch. ii. 2. Εἴδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα: i. e. *We have ſeen his ſtar.*

Ch. xxvii. 52, 53. *And the graves were opened, and cauſe ſhall a man leave father and mother,* &c. See Matt. xix. 5. and Gen. ii. 23, 24.

2. Matt. xx. 23. *Ye ſhall drink indeed of my cup,* &c. by which cup he meant the martyrdom of thoſe two Apoſtles, John and James.

The Leſſer, or thoſe which are ſuppoſed the genuine Epiſtles of IGNATIUS, *particularly;*

1. *The Epiſtle of* IGNATIUS *to the Epheſians.*

I. Ch. v. Εἰ γὰρ ἑνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχὴ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, &c. *For if the prayers of one or two be of ſuch force,* &c. The larger Epiſtle adds, Ὥστε τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶναι, *as that Chriſt will be in the midſt of them.*

II. Ch. xiv. Φανερὸν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ: i. e. *The tree is known by its fruit.*

III. Ch. xv. Εἷς ἐν διδάσκαλος: i. e. *One is (your) maſter.*

IV. Ch. xix. Ἀστὴρ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔλαμψεν: i. e. *His ſtar ſhone in heaven.*

2. *The Epiſtle to the* MAGNESIANS.

Ch. ix. The Prophets expected Chriſt, and when he came,

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*

many bodies of ſaints which ſlept aroſe, and came out of the graves after his reſurrection, &c.

I. Ch. iii. 15. Πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην: i. e. *It becometh us to fulfil all righteouſneſs.* Chriſt aſſigns this as a reaſon for his being baptized by John.

II. Ch. xix. 12. Ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρείτω: i. e. *He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.*

Ch. x. 16. Γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις, καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί: i. e. *Be ye therefore wiſe as ſerpents, and harmleſs as doves.*

2. *The Epiſtle of* IGNATIUS *to the* MAGNESIANS.

came, ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν, *he raiſed them from the dead.*

3. *The Epiſtle to the* SMYRNEANS.

I. Ch. i. Chriſt was baptized by John, Ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ: i. e. *That all righteouſneſs might be fulfilled by him.*

II. Ch. vi. Ὁ χωρῶν χωρείτω: i. e. *He that can receive it, let him receive it.*

4. *The Epiſtle to* POLYCARP.

Ch. II. Φρόνιμος γίνε, ὡς ὁ ὄφις, καὶ ἀκέραιος ὡσεὶ περιστερά: i. e. *Be thou wiſe as a ſerpent, and harmleſs as a dove.*

Thus I have collected and produced at large ſeveral of thoſe paſſages of St. Matthew's Goſpel, which the Apoſtolick Fathers appear evidently to have cited or referred to; ſo that it will be henceforth manifeſt, by a bare caſt of the eye upon the preceding tables, how much Mr. Dodwell and his followers have been miſtaken in their famous notion, that none of our Goſpels were cited by thoſe Fathers.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

St. Matthew's Goſpel farther proved Canonical by the Citations out of it made by the Fathers next the Apoſtolick Age. Thirty-five places in Juſtin Martyr's Works produced; where it is cited. It is cited four Times in the ſmall Treatiſe of Athenagoras; five Times by Theophilus Antiochenus; above two hundred and fifty Times by Irenæus, in nine of which Places he is named; ſeventy-three Times in the Works of Clemens Alexandrinus; and twenty-ſeven Times in his ſmall Tract entitled, Quis Dives ſalvetur? *This Goſpel proved Canonical, becauſe it was read in the Chriſtian Churches, and is in the Syriack Verſion.*

IT appearing thus, how particularly the apoſtolick Fathers have cited St. Matthew, I proceed now to ſhew, how the Fathers immediately ſucceeding the apoſtolick age have cited St. Matthew; not as above to produce all the ſeveral places at large, which would be almoſt to tranſcribe the Goſpels, but only to lay down the ſeveral chapters and verſes of the Goſpel, with the particular places of thoſe Fathers' works where they are cited; nor ſhall I think it needful to do this, with all the writers of the firſt four centuries, but ſuch only as were the moſt early, and are the moſt conſiderable. It will be enough to ſhew inſtances in ſuch as Juſtin Martyr, Athenagoras, Theophilus Antiochenus, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c. who lived in the ſecond century, and to obſerve concerning the Fathers of the next centuries, ſuch as Origen, Cyprian, Cyril, Auſtin, and others of and about their time, that they do in innumerable places cite this (as well as our other) Goſpels; for the proof of which I would refer the reader, who will take no farther pains in the matter, to the Indexes of the Texts of Scripture, which are made and put at the end of their works by their editors. I proceed then to thoſe early Fathers above-named, viz. Juſtin Martyr, Athenagoras, Theophilus Antiochenus, Irenæus, and Clemens Alexandrinus, whoſe works

works I have with this view carefully examined, and find them very often to have cited or referred to this Goſpel of St. Matthew.

I. *As to* JUSTIN MARTYR.

A Catalogue of ſeveral places which are cited out of St. Matthew's Goſpel in the Works of Juſtin Martyr.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*	JUSTIN MARTYR's *Works.*
1 Ch. i. 21.	1 Apolog. 2. pro Chriſto, p. 75.
2 Ch. ii. 11.	2 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 315. et p. 334. *This he ſays he cited* ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ, from the Commentaries of Chriſt's Apoſtles.
3 Ch. iii. 1, 2, 3, 11.	3 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 316.
4 ——— 11, 12.	4 Ibid. p. 268.
5 Ch. iv. 1, — 8, 9, 10, 11.	5 Ibid. p. 354. and p. 331. *This he ſays was written in the* ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων: i. e. in the Commentaries of the Apoſtles.
6 Ch. v. 20.	6 Ibid. p. 333. *This he ſays he learnt from the ſame books.*
7 Ch. v. 16, 22, 28, 29, 32, 36, 37, 39, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47; and Ch. vi. 2, 19, 20, 21, 26, 32, 33, 35, 45. viz. *a conſiderable part of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount in St. Matthew's words.*	7 Apolog. 2. pro Chriſtian. p. 61, 62, 63.
8 Ch. v. 44.	8 Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 324.

Ibid.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*	JUSTIN MARTYR's *Works.*
9 Ch. vii. 15.	9 Ibid. p. 253.
10 ——— 19, 21, &c.	10 Apolog. 2. pro Chriſt. p. 64. et Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 301.
11 Ch. viii. 11.	11 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 301, 349, 370.
12 Ch. ix. 13.	12 Apol. 2. pro Chriſt. p. 62.
13 Ch. x. 28.	13 Ibid. p. 66.
14 Ch. xi. 12, — 15.	14 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 271.
15 ——— 27.	15 Apol. 2. pro Chriſt. p. 95. et in Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 326.
16 Ch. xii. 39, 40.	16 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 334.
17 Ch. xiii. 3, 4, &c.	17 Ibid. p. 354.
18 Ch. xvi. 21.	18 Ibid. p. 302, et 327.
19 ——— 26, 27.	19 Apol. 2. pro Chriſt. p. 62.
20 Ch. xvii. 10, 11, 12.	20 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 269.
21 Ch. xix. 12.	21 Apolog. 2. pro Chriſtian. p. 62.
22 ——— 16, 17.	22 Ibid. p. 63. et Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 328.
23 ——— 26.	23 Ibid. p. 66.
24 Ch. xxi. 1, 2.	24 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 272.
25 ——— 13.	25 Ibid. p. 235.
26 Ch. xxii. 16, 17, — 21.	26 Apol. 2. pro Chriſt. p. 64.
27 ——— 30.	27 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 308.
28 ——— 32.	28 Apol. 2. pro Chriſt. p. 96.
29 ——— 36, &c.	29 Ibid. p. 63.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*	JUSTIN-MARTYR's *Works.*
30 Ch. xxiii. 23, 27.	30 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 235, et 339.
31 Ch. xxiv. 24.	31 Ibid. p. 253.
32 Ch. xxvi. 26, &c.	32 Apol. 2. pro Chriſt. p. 98. *This he ſays is delivered by the Apoſtles,* ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια: i. e. in the Commentaries or Books made by them, which are called Goſpels.
33 —— 39.	33 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 326, et 331.
34 Ch. xxvii. 42, 43.	34 Ibid. p. 328.
35 —— 46.	35 Ibid. p. 326.

II. ATHENAGORAS.

He was a writer of the ſecond century, either coeval with, or not long after Juſtin Martyr; he wrote an excellent Apology for Chriſtianity, which is inſcribed to M. Aurelius Antoninus, and L. Aurelius Commodus, in which, though a ſhort work, I have obſerved the following references to St. Matthew's Goſpel.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*	ATHENAGORÆ Legat. pro Chriſtian.
1 Ch. v. 44, 45.	1 Page 11.
2 —— 46, 47.	2 —— 12.
3 —— 28.	3 —— 36.
4 Ch. xix. 9.	4 —— 37.

III. THEOPHILUS ANTIOCHENUS.

He lived under the ſame Emperors, and was cotemporary with Athenagoras; he wrote three ſmall treatiſes, inſcribed

inſcribed to Autolycus, againſt the enemies of Chriſtianity. He made uſe alſo of St. Matthew's Goſpel, as appears from the following places.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*	THEOPHILUS ANTIOCHENUS.
1 Ch. xix. 26.	1 Lib. 1. p. 92.
2 Ch. v. 28.	2 Lib. 3. p. 126. *He cites under the name of* Εὐαγγελικὸς φωνή.
3 Ch. xix. 9.	3 Ibid.
4 Ch. v. 44—47.	4 Ibid.
5 Ch. vi. 3.	5 Ibid.

IV. IRENÆUS.

I propoſed here, as in the former inſtance, to have produced all the ſeveral places in Irenæus, where St. Matthew's Goſpel is cited; but ſince that purpoſe, I find myſelf prevented herein by the care and induſtry of Feuardentius: at the end of his edition of Irenæus, there is an index already made with great exactneſs, of moſt of the citations which that Father has made of this Goſpel; I have been at the pains carefully to examine every one of them, and do not find above ten or twelve falſe references in the whole. It will be enough therefore to refer the reader to the index of Feuardentius, only adding two obſervations which I have made, viz.

(1.) That Irenæus has at leaſt two hundred and fifty times cited or taken paſſages out of this Goſpel.

(2.) That he does ſeveral times cite St. Matthew by name; viz. in the following places.

1 Lib. 3. adv. Hæreſ. c. 11. p. 259. citing thoſe words, Matt. i. 1.

2 Lib. 3. c. 18. p. 277. citing ch. i. 1, 18—21.

3 Lib. 3. c. 26. in init. collat. cum 25. in fin. citing ch. i. 18.
4 Lib. 3. c. 10. citing ch. ii. 2, &c.
5 Lib. 3. c. 9. citing ch. ii. 13.
6 Ibid. citing ch. iii. 3.
7 Ibid. citing ch. iii. 7.
8 Ibid. citing ch. iii. 9.
9 Lib. 3. c. 18. citing ch. iii. 16.

V. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

There is indeed a large collection of the texts of this Goſpel cited by Clemens, prefixed to his works; but upon enquiry, I find this collection in many reſpects ſo inaccurate, ſo falſe, and defective, that as I could not depend upon it myſelf, ſo neither can I refer the reader to it. I have therefore made the following collection, which, though perhaps it does not contain all the places of St. Matthew's Goſpel cited by Clemens, yet, I dare ſay, contains the far greateſt part, without any one reference which is not fairly and juſtly made.

A Catalogue of the places of St. Matthew's Goſpel, cited or referred to by CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*	*The Works of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.
1 Ch. iii. 7.	1 Pædagog. Lib. 1. c. 9. p. 123.
2 ——— 9.	2 Admonit. ad Gent. p. 3.
3 ——— 12.	3 Pædagog. Lib. 1. c. 9. p. 125.
4 Ch. v. 5.	4 Stromat. Lib. 4. p. 488.
5 ——— 8.	5 ——— Lib. 5. p. 548.
6 ——— 10.	6 ——— Lib. 4. p. 484.
7 ——— 13.	7 Pædagog. Lib. 3. c. 11. p. 257. et Stromat. Lib. 1. p. 290.

St.

St. MATTHEW's *Gospel.*	*The Works of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.
8 Chap. v. 15.	8 Stromat. Lib. 1. p. 275.
9 ——— 20.	9 ——— Lib. 6. p. 696.
10 ——— 25.	10 ——— Lib. 4. p. 512.
11 ——— 27, 28.	11 Pædagog. Lib. 2. c. 6. p. 169. et Admonit. ad Gent. p. 68.
12 ——— 29.	12 Pædagog. Lib. 3. c. 11. p. 251.
13 ——— 36.	13 ——— c. 3. p. 223.
14 ——— 37.	14 Stromat. Lib. 5. p. 596.
15 ——— 39, 40.	15 Admonit. ad Gent. p. 68. et Pædagog. Lib. 3. c. 12. p. 262.
16 ——— 44, 45.	16 Stromat. Lib. 4. p. 511, 512. et Pædagog. Lib. 1. c. 8. p. 118, 119.
17 ——— 48.	17 ——— Lib. 4. p. 529.
18 Ch. vi. 1, 2, &c.	18 Ibid.
19 ——— 9.	19 Pædagog. Lib. 1. c. 8. p. 119.
20 ——— 24.	20 Stromat. Lib. 3. p. 436. et Lib. 6. p. 486.
21 ——— 25, 26, &c.	21 Pædagog. Lib. 2. c. 1. p. 148. et Lib. ejusd. c. 10. p. 197, 198. et Stromat. Lib. 4. p. 487.
22 ——— 34.	22 ——— Lib. 1. c. 12. p. 134. et ejusd. Lib. c. 5. p. 88.
23 Ch. vii. 6.	23 Stromat. Lib. 1. p. 297.
24 ——— 7.	24 ——— p. 295. et Lib. 2. p. 410. Lib. 3. p. 450. Lib. 5. p. 553.
25 ——— 12.	25 Pædagog. Lib. 3. c. 12. p. 260. confer Stromat. Lib. 2. p. 421.

St. MATTHEW'S *Goſpel.*	*The Works of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.
26 Chap. vii. 13.	26 Admonit. ad Gent. p. 63. et Stromat. Lib. 4. p. 476.
27 ——— 15.	27 Admonit. ad Gent. p. 3.
28 ——— 18.	28 Pædagog. Lib. 2. c. 5. p. 166.
29 Ch. viii. 12.	29 ——— Lib. 1. c. 10. p. 129.
30 ——— 20.	30 Stromat. Lib. 1. p. 280.
31 ——— 22.	31 ——— Lib. 3. p. 436.
32 Ch. x. 5.	32 ——— Lib. 3. p. 472.
33 ——— 23.	33 ——— Lib. 4. p. 504.
34 ——— 26.	34 ——— Lib. 1. p. 275.
35 ——— 27.	35 ——— p. 297.
36 ——— 32, 33.	36 ——— Lib. 4, p. 502, 503.
37 ——— 39.	37 ——— Lib. 2. p. 407. et Lib. 4. p. 484.
38 ——— 41.	38 ——— Lib. 4. p. 488.
39 Ch. xi. 3, 4. &c.	39 Pædagog. Lib. 1. c. 10. p. 129.
40 ——— 12.	40 Stromat. Lib. 4. p. 476. et Lib. 5. p. 553.
41 ——— 17.	41 Pædagog. Lib. 1. c. 5. p. 85.
42 ——— 18.	42 Stromat. Lib. 3. p. 448.
43 ——— 19.	43 Pædagog. Lib. 2. c. 2. p. 158.
44 ——— 25.	44 ——— Lib. 1. c. 6. p. 96.
45 ——— 27.	45 ——— p. 89. et c. 8. p. 119.
46 ——— 28, 29, 30.	46 Admonit. ad Gent. p. 75. et Pædagog. Lib. 1. c. 10. p. 129. et Stromat. Lib. 5. p. 560.

St.

St. MATTHEW's *Gospel.*	*The Works of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.
47 Ch. xii. 36, 37.	47 Pædagog. Lib. 2. c. 6. p. 169.
48 Ch. xiii. 11.	48 Stromat. Lib. 5. p. 586.
49 ——— 13.	49 ——— Lib. 1. p. 270.
50 Ch. xv. 9.	50 Pædagog. Lib. 1. c. 9. p. 121.
51 ——— 11.	51 ——— Lib. 2. c. 6. p. 168.
52 ——— 22.	52 Stromat. Lib. 6. p. 680.
53 Ch. xvii. 5.	53 Pædagog. Lib. 1. c. 11. p. 133.
54 Ch. xviii. 3.	54 ——— c. 5. p. 85.
55 ——— 21, 22.	55 ——— Lib. 3. c. 12. p. 261.
56 Ch. xix. 6, 8.	56 Stromat. Lib. 3. p. 446.
57 ——— 10, 11, 12.	57 ——— p. 447.
58 ——— 13.	58 Pædagog. Lib. 1. c. 5. p. 85.
59 ——— 21.	59 ——— Lib. 2. c. 3. p. 160. et Stromat. Lib. 4. p. 485.
60 Ch. xx. 16.	60 Stromat. Lib. 5. p. 554.
61 ——— 28.	61 Pædagog. Lib. 1. c. 9. p. 126.
62 Ch. xxii. 30.	62 ——— c. 4. p. 84.
63 ——— 37.	63 ——— Lib. 3. c. 12. p. 260.
64 ——— 37—40.	64 Stromat. Lib. 2. p. 391.
65 Ch. xxiii. 6.	65 Pædagog. Lib. 3. c. 12. p. 262.
66 ——— 9.	66 Stromat. Lib. 3. p. 463.
67 ——— 27.	67 Pædagog. Lib. 3. c. 9. p. 241.
68 ——— 37.	68 ——— Lib. 1. c. 5. p. 86. et c. 9. p. 121 et 123.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*	*The Works of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.
69 Ch. xxiv. 13.	69 Stromat. Lib. 4. p. 503.
70 Ch. xxv. 34, &c.	70 Pædagog. Lib. 3. c. 12. p. 262. et Stromat. Lib. 2. p. 391, 392.
71 ——— 40.	71 Pædagog. Lib. 3. c. 4. p. 231.
72 Ch. xxvi. 23.	72 ——— Lib. 2. c. 8. p. 176.
73 ——— 26—28.	73 ——— c. 2. p. 158.

Beſides the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, which are uſually found together, there is alſo a ſmall tract extant, intitled, Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος; i. e. *What rich man can be ſaved?* publiſhed laſt by Biſhop Fell at Oxford, 1683; it ſeems to have full evidence of its genuineneſs, not only that Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 23. cites a large piece of it as the work of Clemens under this ſame title, but that Photius, Cod. cxi. ſays, *The Stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus were in a very antient copy of that Father's works reckoned to be* eight; whereas now there are but ſeven: *the firſt ſeven*, ſays he, *had the ſame title, but the eighth differed, being intitled in ſome copies*, What rich man can be ſaved?—The treatiſe is very ſmall, not making above ſixty ſmall pages in the Oxford duodecimo edition, but contains ſuch numerous citations of this and other proofs of the New Teſtament, that I thought it proper to collect them.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*	*The Treatiſe of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *intitled*, Quis Dives ſalvetur?
1 Ch. v. 3.	1 Cap. xvi. p. 42. et c. xvii. p. 46. In this place St. Matthew is cited by name.
2 ——— 6.	2 Ibid.
3 ——— 13, 14.	3 Cap. xxxvi. p. 97.

St.

St. MATTHEW's *Goſpel.*	*The treatiſe of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *intitled,* Quis Dives ſalvetur?
4 Ch. v. 25.	4 Cap. xl. p. 106.
5 —— 29.	5 —— xxiv. p. 65.
6 —— 39.	6 —— xviii. p. 49.
7 Ch. vi. 14.	7 —— xl. p. 105.
8 —— 19.	8 —— xiii. p. 34.
9 —— 21.	9 —— xvii. p. 45.
10 Ch. vii. 1, &c.	10 —— xxxiii. p. 90.
11 —— 21.	11 —— xxix. p. 81.
12 Ch. ix. 13.	12 —— xxxix. p. 102.
13 Ch. x. 22.	13 —— xxxii. p. 89.
14 —— 40.	14 —— xxxi. p. 82.
15 —— 41.	15 —— p. 85.
16 Ch. xi. 12.	16 —— xxi. p. 57.
17 —— 27.	17 —— viii. p. 21.
18 Ch. xii. 35.	18 —— xvii. p. 45.
19 Ch. xiii. 17.	19 —— xxix. p. 81.
20 Ch. xvii. 27.	20 —— xxi. p. 58.
21 Ch. xviii. 10.	21 —— xxxi. p. 82.
22 Ch. xix. 21.	22 —— x. p. 25.
23 —— 24.	23 —— ii. p. 6.
24 —— 27, 28.	24 —— xxii. p. 58.
25 Ch. xxii. 36, 37, &c.	25 —— xxvi. p. 74, &c.
26 Ch. xxiii. 12.	26 —— i. p. 5. Here this Goſpel is called Θεῖος λόγος, i. e. the word of God.
27 Ch. xxv. 36, &c.	27 Cap. xiii. p. 34.

ARG. III. The Goſpel of St. Matthew is Canonical, *becauſe it was read as Scripture in the aſſemblies or churches of the primitive Chriſtians*, by Prop. VI. I have above proved (Vol. I. Part I. Ch. X.) from Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, &c. that it was the conſtant cuſtom of the primitive churches to read the ſacred Scriptures as part of their moſt ſolemn divine ſervice; I am now to prove that St. Matthew's Goſpel

Goſpel was always among theſe books; and that will be evident;

1. From Cyril of Jeruſalem; who, enumerating the books which ought to be read in the Churches, and which were read in the Churches, ſays, *Among the New Teſtament books there were only four Goſpels, and that all others were ſpurious and hurtful* [a]. After reciting the other books of the New Teſtament, he adds a little below, *That all others were to be rejected, and as not being read in the church, were not to be read in private by his catechumen*—No one acquainted with Cyril's writing, and the other books of his time, can poſſibly queſtion whether St. Matthew is included among the *four Goſpels*, which he ſpeaks of, as being read in the churches; eſpecially conſidering that he frequently appeals to that Evangeliſt's Goſpel, as ſacred; and in one place [b] does appeal to him, as having *wrote a Goſpel in teſtimony of the truth of Chriſtianity, which ought to be credited.*

2. From the council of Laodicea, Can. LIX. where it is declared, *that no books which were not of the Canon ſhould be read in the churches, and that thoſe which were of the Canon and ought to be read, were* the Goſpel according to St. Matthew, &c. [c]

3. From the teſtimony of Juſtin Martyr it ſeems not unfairly to be concluded, that *St. Matthew's Goſpel was read in the primitive churches.* The proof I aim at, is as followeth: That Father tells us [d], that *on every Sunday there was an aſſembly of the neighbouring Chriſtians,* and τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων—ἀναγινώσκεται, *the Memoirs or Commentaries of the Apoſtles were read*; under this word ἀπομνημονεύματα were included

[a] Τῆς δὲ καινῆς διαθήκης τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ψευδεπίγραφα· καὶ βλαβερὰ τυγχάνει—τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ· καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκεται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἀναγίνωσκε. Catech. IV. §. 22.

[b] Catech. XIV. §. 8.

[c] Non oportet—libros in Eccleſiis legere, qui ſunt extra Canonem, niſi ſolos Canonicos Novi et Veteris Teſtamenti. Quæ autem oporteat legi, et in auctoritatem recipi, hæc ſunt—ſc. Novi Teſtamenti Evangelium ſecundum Matthæum, &c.

[d] Apolog. 2. pro Chriſtian. p. 98.

thoſe

thoſe books which we now call *Goſpels*, as is plain from what he ſaid immediately before, viz. ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια: i. e. *in the Commentaries made by the Apoſtles, which are called* GOSPELS: it follows therefore, that the Goſpels, which were made by the Apoſtles, were read in the churches of Chriſtians in the time of Juſtin Martyr; and that St. Matthew's Goſpel was among theſe is moſt apparently evident, becauſe Juſtin in many places of his writings, citing paſſages out of this Goſpel, cites them as what he read in, and learnt from, theſe ἀπομνημονεύμασιν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, i. e. from theſe *Commentaries or Goſpels of the Apoſtles*; i. e. from St. Matthew's Goſpel, where thoſe words only are to be found.

ARG. IV. The Goſpel of St. Matthew is Canonical, becauſe *it is found among thoſe which the churches of Syria received as ſuch, and which they collected together, and tranſlated as Scripture in or near the Apoſtles' time*, Prop. XV. I ſhall only obſerve farther, that the Author of this excellent verſion of the New Teſtament into Syriac (or ſome one elſe) at the end of St. Matthew's Goſpel has annexed the following teſtimony, which it will not be foreign to my purpoſe to tranſcribe:

ܫܠܡ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܘܙܐ ܕܡܬܝ ܕܐܒܪܐ ܒܥܒܪܝܬ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܠܣܛܝܢܝ

i. e. *The end of the Holy Goſpel of the preaching of Matthew, which he preached in Hebrew in the land of Paleſtine.*

Thus I have endeavoured to eſtabliſh the Canonical authority of this Goſpel of St. Matthew by various arguments.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Other Arguments to prove the genuine Authority of St. Matthew's Goſpel. Bartholomew took it to preach in his Travels. Papias and Hegeſippus give Credit to it. The Manichees' Objection againſt this Goſpel. Fauſtus's Objection from St. Matthew's oblique Way of Speech (ix. 9.) *conſidered and refuted. Other Objections conſidered.*

BESIDES the preceding arguments, I have met with ſeveral other things, which ſeem to be no ſmall proof of St. Matthew's Goſpel being of genuine and Canonical authority. Theſe are;

1. That St. Bartholomew, who was one of our Saviour's twelve Apoſtles, when he went forth to preach and propagate the Chriſtian faith, *took along with him the Goſpel of St. Matthew*; and particularly that *he preached according to this Goſpel among the Indians, and left it among them at his departure from them:* and that Pantænus afterwards, viz. in the ſecond century, *found this Goſpel among them*; this is related both by Euſebius [a], and Jerome [b], and ſeems clearly to prove that St. Matthew's Goſpel met with a ſuitable reception, and was eſteemed of the greateſt authority even in the Apoſtles' time.

It may indeed be objected, that the Goſpel which St. Bartholomew left among the Indians, is ſaid by Euſebius to have been written in Hebrew letters, and that I have elſewhere [c] attempted to prove that this very Goſpel was that of the Nazarenes.

To which I anſwer, that as I have endeavoured largely to prove, that St. Matthew's Goſpel was originally written in Greek [d], ſo I eaſily allow there was a very early verſion of it made into Hebrew; and this as yet uninterpolated nor enlarged

[a] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 10.
[b] Catal. Vir. Illuſtr. in Barthol. Pantæn.
[c] Vol. II. Part I. Ch. X. p. 172, 173.
[d] Vindication of St. Matthew's Goſpel againſt Mr. Whiſton, ch. 17, 18, 19.

with

with the Nazarene additions, is what, I ſuppoſe, St. Bartholomew, who was a Jew, and preached (as the reſt of the Apoſtles at this time) principally to thoſe of his own nation, did take along with him in his travels.

2. That Papias, who was according to Irenæus [a] a diſciple of John, and an acquaintance of Polycarp, intimates very clearly, that St. Matthew's Goſpel *was in common uſe in his time* [b].

That Hegeſippus [c], a writer of the ſecond century, *wrote ſome diſſertations upon the Goſpel of the Hebrews, or the Goſpel of St. Matthew, which the Nazarenes made uſe of.* Now theſe diſſertations were wrote either upon the ſuppoſition, that this Hebrew Goſpel was the true one of St. Matthew, or that it was not; if we ſay the *latter*, it is then evident they muſt be wrote with deſign to vindicate the authority of St. Matthew's true Goſpel againſt the Nazarenes' copy; if the *former*, the authority of St. Matthew will be alſo thereby eſtabliſhed, becauſe all the credit, which the Nazarene Goſpel had or pretended to, even among themſelves, was founded upon the ſuppoſition of its being St. Matthew's; which, though falſe, yet ſhews the high opinion the primitive Chriſtians did entertain of that Evangeliſt's writing.

The only perſons (as far as I know) among the antients, who have made any objections againſt the authority of this Goſpel, were the Manichees: the main and principal arguments which Fauſtus has made uſe of againſt it, are taken from the difficulties of the genealogy, Ch. I. But theſe fall not within my conſideration, it being ſufficient to my deſign to make it appear, that St. Matthew's Goſpel was received as Scripture by the primitive Chriſtians: one thing only I would obſerve, which ſeems more nearly to affect its authority, viz. [d] that Fauſtus undertakes to prove that this Goſpel was not written by St. Matthew, becauſe of *the oblique manner of ex-*

[a] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 5. c. 33.

[b] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39. in fine; ἑρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ (i. e. Evangelium Matthæi) ὡς ἠδύνατο ἕκαστος.

[c] Ibid. lib. 4. c. 22.

[d] Auguſt. contr. Fauſt. Manich. l. 17. c. 1. Quis ergo de ſe ipſo ſcribens dicat, Vidit hominem et vocavit Eum, et ſecutus eſt Eum, ac non potius dicat, Vidit Me, et vocavit Me &c.

preſſion

preſſion (as it is called) which we meet with, Matt. ix. 9. *And as Jeſus paſſed forth from thence, he ſaw* a man *named Matthew, ſitting at the receipt of cuſtom, and he ſaith unto* him, *Follow me; and* He *aroſe and followed him:* "Matthew, ſays "Fauſtus, did not write that Goſpel, but ſome one elſe under "his name, as is plain by thoſe very words of the pretended "Matthew; for who, ſays he, writing concerning himſelf, "would ſay, he ſaw a MAN, and called HIM, and HE follow-"ed him; and would not rather ſay, He ſaw ME, and called "ME, and I followed him?" But nothing can be more weak than this ſort of arguing, it being a thing undeniable, that this oblique way of writing is common in all ſorts of hiſtorians, and that they very frequently do ſpeak of themſelves not in the firſt, but in the third perſon. It is common (ſays Auſtin in his anſwer to [a] Fauſtus on this head) in ſecular or (what we call) profane hiſtories. It is always done by Moſes, and very frequently by our Saviour and his Apoſtles. The many inſtances which that Father produces, and which are every where to be met with, make it needleſs for me to produce any. He who has a mind may conſult the many places in Moſes's writings, where we find him ſpeaking in the third perſon of himſelf, or in this oblique way of ſpeech, viz. And the Lord ſaid unto Moſes, and Moſes did ſuch and ſuch things; and beſides theſe, the places both of the Old and New Teſtament referred to at the bottom of the page [b]. So that this argument will by no means prove what it is brought for, that Matthew did not write that Goſpel which goes under his name.

The German Anabaptiſts of the laſt and preceding century (perſons very different in their principles and practices from thoſe who now go under that denomination among us) and thoſe which were called the Servetians, or followers of Michael Servetus, among other of their whimſical opinions, denied the credit and authority of this Goſpel. Their principal arguments are, (1.) That the author of the Goſpel *has miſapplied*

[a] Auguſt. contr. Fauſt. Manich. lib. 17. c. 4.

[b] Gen. iv. 24. Num. xxiv. 3, 4. Jerem. xxviii. 5, 10, 15. Jonah i. 1. et per tot. Matt. viii. 20. xi. 19. xviii. 2. Luke xviii. 8. John v. 23, 25, &c. John xxi. 24. Vid. Auguſt. Tract. 61, in Joann. et Glaſſ. Gram. Sacr. lib. iv. Tract. 2. Obſerv. 17.

many

many prophecies of the Old Teſtament to prove the Divinity of Chriſt. (2.) That the *true Goſpel of St. Matthew was wrote in Hebrew, whereas this which we now have under his name, ſeems originally to have been wrote in Greek*[a].

To the firſt of theſe my deſign does not oblige me to give any anſwer; becauſe all I undertake to prove is, that the Goſpel was received as St. Matthew's, and of as great authority in the primitive Church, without any reſpect to the ſeveral difficulties that may be in its contexture; though it were no difficult matter to ſhew the falſehood of their allegation.

To the ſecond it will be ſufficient to anſwer, that I have elſewhere proved[b] that St. Matthew's true Goſpel was not originally written in Hebrew, and that it was a miſtake in the Fathers to aſſert that it was wrote in that language, there never having been any other Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew, but what was a tranſlation out of his original Greek, and afterwards interpolated by the Nazarenes, was made uſe of by them as the true Goſpel of this Evangeliſt.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Time of St. Matthew's writing his Goſpel. Irenæus and Euſebius differ in this Matter. The Opinion of the latter proved to be more probable than that of the former; viz. that he wrote A. D. XLI. and not A. D. LIX. or LX.

IT remains now that I ſay ſomewhat *concerning the time*, in which it is moſt probable that St. Matthew's Goſpel was written; and herein I find it difficult to come to any certainty, becauſe of the diſagreement there is between the antients themſelves, as to the matter. I ſhall firſt lay down the different opinions, and then obſerve what appears more probable.

[a] Sixt. Senenſ. Bibl. Sanct. l. 7. de Evang. Matt. Hæreſ. p. 581.

[b] Vindication of St. Matthew's Goſpel, ch. xvii, xviii, xix. See alſo of this work, Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XXIX. p. 305, &c.

1. The

1. The firſt is that of Irenæus[a], who tells us, *that Matthew publiſhed his Goſpel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundations of a church there.* Now as I have had occaſion to obſerve in another place, though it is not certain when Peter was at Rome, yet Paul was there in the third year of Nero; i. e. in or about the year of Chriſt LIX. or LX. as Euſebius relates in his *Chronicon*; and to this moſt Chronologers[b] and writers of church-hiſtory agree[c].

2. Euſebius in his *Chronicon* has placed the writing of St. Matthew's Goſpel in *the third of Caligula; i. e. eight years after Chriſt's aſcenſion*, or the year of Chriſt XLI.

Beſides theſe two, I know none of the writers of the firſt centuries who have aſſigned any time, in which they ſuppoſe St. Matthew to have wrote: Nicephorus[d] indeed has without any reaſon aſſerted, that *it was wrote fifteen years after Chriſt's aſcenſion*; but he being ſo late a writer (viz. of the ninth century), his teſtimony can deſerve no regard here. As to more modern writers, I find they generally credit and follow Euſebius in this matter; nor do I know any one beſides the famous Jeſuit Andradius[e], Chemnitius[f], and Dr. Mill[g], who have believed Irenæus in this matter. That which influenced the firſt of theſe to his opinion was, that he thereby was able the better to ſupport the Popiſh doctrine *of the neceſſity of traditions, and the inſufficiency of the Scripture.* For if the Chriſtians were without any authentick hiſtory of Chriſt, and St. Matthew did not write till the time which Irenæus mentions; i. e. till the year of Chriſt LIX. or LX. i. e. for the ſpace of twenty ſix or twenty ſeven years, it would ſeem ſomewhat favourable

[a] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. See the Greek in Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 8.

[b] Helvicus, Petavius, Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Tallents, &c.

[c] Spanheim, Eachard, Le Clerc, &c.

[d] Lib. 2. c. 45. apud D. Cave Hiſt. Liter. in Matth. p. 8.

[e] Apud Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trident. Pars I. p. 28.

[f] Lib. denuo cit. p. 31.

[g] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. §. 61, &c. I find Mr. Whiſton alſo fixes the time of St. Matthew's writing to this ſame period. Eſſay on Conſtit. p. 16.

vourable to the Popiſh ſcheme, viz. that religion might be propagated by mere tradition without any writing. Chemnitius, though he well refutes the Jeſuit's reaſonings, yet agrees with him, that Irenæus was in the right as to the time of St. Matthew's writing; becauſe, ſays he, it is fit we ſhould rather credit the more antient, than later Fathers. Dr. Mill alſo credits Irenæus, but without aſſigning the leaſt ſhadow of a reaſon, why that Father is to be credited rather. For my part, though I freely own it is difficult to come to any certainty in the point, yet I cannot but rather ſubſcribe to Euſebius than Irenæus; i. e. I rather think St. Matthew's Goſpel was written in the third year of Caligula, eight years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, A. D. XLI. than in the third year of Nero, ſix or ſeven and twenty years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, A. D. LIX. or LX. And for this opinion I ſhall offer the following reaſons; viz.

1. Becauſe *it is altogether improbable that the Chriſtian churches ſhould* for ſo long a ſpace *as twenty ſix or twenty ſeven years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, be left deſtitute of any genuine and authentick hiſtory of the life and actions, of the miracles and doctrines of Jeſus Chriſt.* To ſuppoſe this, is plainly to ſuppoſe the Apoſtles either defective in their zeal for the intereſt of Chriſtianity, or elſe ignorant of one of the moſt likely means to promote it. But I find Mr. Le Clerc has prevented me on this head; I ſhall therefore omit ſaying any more on it, and give the reader a tranſlation of his words: "[a] They who think "that the Goſpels were written as late as Irenæus ſaith, and "ſuppoſe that for the ſpace of about thirty years after our "Lord's aſcenſion, there were many ſpurious Goſpels in the "hands of the Chriſtians, and not one that was genuine and "authentick, do unwarily caſt a very great reflection upon the "wiſdom of the Apoſtles; for what could have been more "imprudence in them, than tamely to have ſuffered the idle "ſtories concerning Chriſt to be read by the Chriſtians, and "not to contradict them by ſome authentick hiſtory wrote by "ſome credible perſons, which might reach the knowledge of

[a] Hiſt. Eccl. Secul. I. A. D. LXII. §. 9. p. 414.

" all men? For my part, I can never be perſuaded to entertain " ſo mean an opinion of the prudence of men under the con- " duct of the Holy Ghoſt. Beſides, Matthew has delivered to us " not only the actions, but the diſcourſes of Chriſt; and this he " muſt needs be able to do with greater certainty, while they " were freſh in his memory, than when through length of time " he began to loſe the impreſſions of them. It is true, the " Holy Ghoſt was with the Apoſtles, to bring all things to " their remembrance, which they had received of Chriſt, ac- " cording to the promiſe, John xiv. 26: but the Holy Ghoſt " in this matter did not only inſpire, but deal with them ac- " cording to their natural powers, as the variety of the ex- " preſſions in the Goſpel ſhews." Thus far he; from whence it appears very improbable, that no Goſpel, which was authentick, was written before the time which Irenæus mentions, viz. the year of Chriſt LIX. or LX. I am ſenſible this argument ſuppoſes, that St. Matthew's was the firſt true Goſpel which was wrote; and that it was ſo, is generally aſſerted by all the antients.

2. *Many of the moſt antient manuſcripts of this Goſpel do agree with Euſebius, that St. Matthew's Goſpel was wrote in the eighth year after our Saviour's aſcenſion.* Thus, for inſtance, Beza[a] tells us, it was in his famous Clermont manuſcript, which he gave to the Univerſity of Cambridge, and which is generally eſteemed the oldeſt manuſcript of the Goſpels, which is now in the world. Thus alſo it is at the end of ſeveral very antient Greek MSS. which Father Simon ſaw[b], and more which are cited and referred to by Dr. Mill, among the manuſcripts of the Goſpels in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. See Mill on Matt. xxviii. 20.

3. The old Arabick Verſion joins in the ſame account; viz. *that he, St. Matthew, wrote his Goſpel in Paleſtine, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, in Hebrew, eight years after our Lord Jeſus Chriſt aſcended in his fleſh to heaven,* and the firſt year of the Roman Emperor Claudius[c]. This differs but very

[a] Annot. in Matt. xxviii. ult.
[b] Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. part i. c. 10.
[c] Vid. Ludov. de Dieu ad Matt. xxviii. ult.

little

little from Euſebius; for though he ſays it was written in the third year of Caligula, and the Arabick Verſion in the firſt year of Claudius, yet this will prove only half a year's difference; ſeeing Caligula reigned but three years and a few months, and Claudius immediately ſucceeded him

4. Theophylact and Euthymius *do alſo aſſert this Goſpel to have been written in the eighth year after Chriſt's aſcenſion*; the former in his *preface to his Expoſition on Matthew*; the latter in his *Commentaries on the Goſpels*, which are in a manuſcript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford[a]: and though theſe were late writers, yet their teſtimony is for this reaſon conſiderable, as it coincides with the teſtimonies of others; which cannot be ſaid of the opinion of Nicephorus above-mentioned.

5. It may not perhaps be foreign to the purpoſe to obſerve, *how diligent and careful Euſebius was in collecting his accounts of this ſort*; and that though there are ſome miſtakes in his works (which in ſo vaſt undertakings could hardly be avoided) yet for the moſt part he is very accurate and exact, as a Chronologer and Hiſtorian.

6. What gives force to all the preceding remarks is, *that Irenæus is moſt certainly miſtaken in the very next words to theſe*; viz. as to the time of St. Mark's writing his Goſpel; he ſaith, that St. Mark wrote his Goſpel μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον: i. e. *after the death of Peter and Paul*, as thoſe words undoubtedly mean, and are well expreſſed by the old Latin Verſion, *poſt horum exceſſum*. But this, I ſay, is falſe, and contrary to the expreſs aſſertions of many of the moſt antient primitive writers, as will appear hereafter in my account of Mark. I know indeed that there have been ſome, who have otherwiſe tranſlated theſe words; but this has been obſerved (by Valeſius in Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 8. Father Simon's Crit. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part I. c. x. p. 87, 88.) to be a miſtake, made by them with deſign to ſave Irenæus from the charge of contradicting the other Fathers.

I will conclude the whole with adding, that whereas it was by ſome made an objection againſt this Goſpel, that ec-

[a] It is cited by Dr. Mill among the Greek teſtimonia, prefixed to St. Matthew's Goſpel, in his edition of the Greek Teſtament.

cleſiaſtical writers differed as to the time of its being wrote, Euſebius fixing one time, and Irenæus another[a]; it is anſwered by Sixtus Senenſis in a method, which that learned man thought would reconcile Irenæus and Euſebius together; viz. *That St. Matthew firſt publiſhed his Goſpel in Judea for the uſe of his countrymen, eight years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, in the third year of Caligula*; and that this was what Euſebius meant; but that *the ſame Evangeliſt a long time after, when he went among the Gentiles, publiſhed it more univerſally for the benefit of all Chriſtians*; and that this was what Irenæus meant[b]. But I leave this conjecture to the examination of the learned in theſe things.

CHAP. VI.

The Scripture Account of St. Mark. There is no other of this Name mentioned in the New Teſtament, but the Evangeliſt. Objections to this anſwered. He was Aſſiſtant to Peter and Paul in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel. The credible Relations, which we have of St. Mark from the Antients, produced. Peter uſed him as an Interpreter. Afterwards he preached in Egypt, planted many Churches at Alexandria, and was one of Chriſt's ſeventy Diſciples.

CONCERNING St. Mark, the author of this Goſpel, there is ſcarce any thing left us in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which can be depended upon with that certainty, which one would wiſh for, and have expected in ſuch a matter.

In the writings of the New Teſtament we have frequent mention of one named Mark; and in the writings of the following ages there are alſo ſome few things concerning him,

[a] Sixt. Senenſ. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 7. De Evang. Matth. Hæret. Object. §. 3.

[b] Ibid. Diſſolut. Object. §. 3.

which

which may appear credible and material. I ſhall conſider each diſtinctly.

I. *As to the accounts which the writings of the New Teſtament give of Mark.* The name is mentioned four times in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, viz. xii. 12, 25. xv. 37, 39. thrice in St. Paul's Epiſtles, viz. Coloſſ. iv. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 11. Philem. 24. once by St. Peter, 1 Epiſt. v. 13. Relating to which places I obſerve;

1. *That it is generally agreed, that Mark the Evangeliſt is that Mark, which is mentioned* 1 *Pet.* v. 13. *The Church that is at Babylon elected together with you, ſaluteth you, and ſo doth Marcus my ſon.* So Origen [a], Euſebius [b], and Jerome [c] among the antients; Grotius [d], Maldonate [e], Dr. Lightfoot [f], Du Pin [g], and many other of the moderns. This is exceedingly probable for this reaſon; viz. that it is the univerſal voice of antiquity, *that Mark was Peter's companion and aſſiſtant* in preaching the Goſpel, and for that reaſon called by him *his ſon*, as Paul for the ſame reaſon calls Timothy *his ſon* [h], and particularly ſays of him [i], that *as a ſon with a father he ſerved with him in the Goſpel.*

2. It is very probable *that Mark, mentioned in the Acts and St. Paul's Epiſtles* (ſee the places above cited) *was the ſame perſon as Mark the Evangeliſt, or author of this Goſpel.* The reaſons I aſſign for this, are,

(1.) *That the office of Mark the Evangeliſt, and this Mark mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles and St. Paul's Epiſtles, was the very ſame*, viz. to be an aſſiſtant to the Apoſtles (Paul and Peter) in the miniſtry of the Word. Concerning the *former*, we find Barnabas and Paul made uſe of him for that purpoſe, Acts xii. 25. And though Paul and Barnabas differed upon the point, yet the latter was for taking him to be

[a] Expoſit. in Matth. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.
[b] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 2. c. 15.
[c] Catalog. Vir. illuſt. in Marco.
[d] Annot. in 1 Pet. v. 13.
[e] Prolegom. in Marc.
[f] Harmon. of the New Teſt. at the year 65.
[g] Hiſtory of the Canon of the New Teſt. vol. 2. c. 2. §. 4.
[h] 1 Tim. i. 2. 2 Tim. i. 2. 1 Cor. iv. 17.
[i] Phil. ii. 22.

an aſſiſtant and companion in viſiting the churches, and did take him. In like manner Paul, who (as is generally agreed) was ſoon reconciled again to Mark, deſired Timothy to *bring him to Rome to him, for* (ſays he) *he is uſeful to me* (or aſſiſting to me) *in the work of the miniſtry*, 2 Tim. iv. 11. And accordingly we find he was afterwards with Paul, Coloſ. iv. 10. and is there called *ſiſter's ſon* (or nephew) *to Barnabas*; which is, by the way, no mean proof, that he was the ſame perſon mentioned Acts xv. 37. it ſeeming probable, that Barnabas's affection to Mark, as a relation, was one reaſon why he perſiſted in his reſolution to take him along with him. But to ſay no more of this, it is plain Mark, mentioned in the Acts and St. Paul's Epiſtles, was an aſſiſtant to the Apoſtles; and the ſame is certain as to Mark the Evangeliſt, viz. that he was aſſiſtant, companion, or interpreter of Peter, as will undeniably appear from the places, which will preſently be cited from the Fathers. Unleſs therefore we will ſuppoſe, that St. Paul's aſſiſtant and St. Peter's were both of the ſame name, we muſt conclude that the Mark, mentioned in the Acts and St. Paul's Epiſtles, was one and the ſame perſon, who at different times was with Paul and Peter engaged in the ſame work.

(2.) To ſuppoſe two Marks, one with Peter, and another with Paul, *is to breed confuſion where there needeth none, and to conceive that for which the Scripture giveth not only no ground, but is plain enough to the contrary.* It is eaſily ſeen how John Mark came into familiarity both with Paul and Peter; and other Mark we can find none in the New Teſtament, unleſs of our own invention. Theſe are the words of Dr. Lightfoot [a], and ſeem to me to contain an argument ſufficiently juſt, till ſome good proof be made that the contrary opinion is true.

(3.) *The author of the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles* (Lib. 2. c. 57.) *makes Mark the Evangeliſt an aſſiſtant of St. Paul*, i. e. the ſame who is mentioned in the Acts and St. Paul's Epiſtles; and the latter Fathers, as Œcumenius, Theophylact (Præf. in Marc.), tell us the Evangeliſt Mark was ſur-

[a] Loc. jam cit.

named

named John, and the ſiſter's ſon of Barnabas, and the companion of Paul.

I know indeed that Grotius [a], and after him Cotelerius [b], Dr. Cave [c], Du Pin [d], Mr. Eachard [e], and others, are of the contrary opinion, and ſuppoſe that Mark the Evangeliſt, and Mark mentioned in the Acts and St. Paul's Epiſtles, were two different perſons. The two former of theſe have offered ſome reaſons for their opinion, which I ſhall briefly conſider:

1.) They urge that they cannot be the ſame, *becauſe the antients never call the Evangeliſts by the name of John, but always Mark*; *whereas*, ſay they, *John was the proper name of him who is mentioned in the Acts.*

Nothing is more common than the miſtakes of learned perſons; but I have ſeldom obſerved one more groſs than this; for,

(1. Though it is certain the ſurname of him mentioned in the Acts was Mark, Acts xii. 12, 25. and xv. 37. yet even the very ſame chapter, two verſes afterwards, demonſtrates (ver. 39.) that *the proper name of the perſon*, i. e. *the name by which he was commonly called, was Mark, and not John.* The words are, *Barnabas took Mark, and ſailed to Cyprus.* It had been ſtrange therefore, if perſons in after ages ſhould have called him John.

(2. *It was the common practice among the Jews at that time, to call perſons by that which was their ſurname, and not the other.* So, for inſtance, Simon, whoſe ſurname was Peter (Matt. x. 2. Mar. iii. 16. Acts x. 5, 18, 32.), was moſt commonly called Peter. Lebbeus, whoſe ſurname was Thaddeus (Matt. x. 3.), was always called Thaddeus. Joſes, who was ſurnamed Barnabas (Acts iv. 36.), was always called Barnabas. And ſo I have obſerved above concerning St. Matthew, that he was commonly called by his ſurname, viz. Levi, and ſo is by Mark and Luke.

(3. *In St. Paul's Epiſtles*, (where Grotius and I think Du Pin acknowledge the ſame perſon is ſpoken of) *he is called al-*

[a] Prolegom. in Marc.
[b] In Conſtitut. Apoſt. lib. 2. c. 57.
[c] Lives of the Apoſtles, p. 214.
[d] Loc. jam cit.
[e] Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. b. ii. c. 3. §. 4.

ways Mark, and not John; though our tranſlators aukwardly enough tranſlate ſometimes Marcus, and ſometimes Mark; which muſt, as many other ſuch things in our tranſlation, confound a perſon unacquainted with the original.

2.) It is urged by Du Pin, *that Mark the Evangeliſt kept cloſe to Peter, at the time when the other (Mark) was with Paul and Barnabas.* But this is not proving, but a plain begging of the queſtion, or taking that for granted which is the thing to be proved.

I conclude therefore for the reaſon above-mentioned, that Mark the Evangeliſt was the ſame perſon, as he who is mentioned not only by Peter, but in the Acts and Epiſtles of Paul; and this then will be all we can collect out of Scripture concerning him; viz. That he was an inhabitant of Jeruſalem, and the ſon of a pious convert, whoſe houſe was employed in thoſe perſecuting times for a place of the Chriſtian aſſemblies for religious worſhip, Acts xii. 12. That he was a perſon of ſo much viſible zeal for, and knowledge in Chriſtianity, as to be eſteemed proper by Paul and Barnabas to be taken along with them, to be an aſſiſtant to them in executing their miniſtry, Acts xii. 25. And though upon a difference between Barnabas and Paul, about taking him with them to viſit the churches, Paul declared againſt taking him, yet Barnabas judged his aſſiſtance neceſſary, Acts xv. 37, 39. That notwithſtanding this, the diſpleaſure of Paul did not continue long, for he appears to be with him at Rome, recommended him to the kind regards of the Coloſſians, in a letter which he wrote to them from Rome, Col. iv. 10. wanted his company another time at Rome, as a perſon whom he judged and found of ſervice and great help to him in the miniſtry, 2 Tim. iv. 11. and accordingly honours him with the character of his *fellow-labourer*, Philem. 24. Beſides all which, St. Peter ſtiles him *his ſon*; i. e. one who, as a *ſon*, *ſerved and helped him in the work of the Goſpel*, 1 Pet. v. 13.

II. I am next to conſider *the accounts we have from the antients, relating to Mark the Evangeliſt.*

1. Theſe all agree, that Mark, the writer of the Goſpel, was

was a companion or interpreter of Peter. So Papias [a], Irenæus [b], the author of the Hypotopoſes which went under the name of Clemens Alexandrinus, and was ſuppoſed to be his by Euſebius [c], Origen [d], Euſebius [e], Jerome [f], and many others of the Fathers. Several of theſe add, that he was with St. Peter at Rome.

2. Another account of the antients concerning Mark is, that he *afterwards went down to Egypt, where he preached the Goſpel which he had written at Rome, and founded many churches in Alexandria, and made a vaſt number of converts to Chriſtianity.* This is related by Euſebius [g], Epiphanius [h], Jerome [i], and many ſucceeding writers; ſuch as Hippolytus [k], Dorotheus [l], Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis [m], Theophylact [n], &c. all which I ſhall paſs over, only obſerving that the tradition of Mark's founding the church at Alexandria, which Du Pin [o] calls *an antient and certain tradition*, was always credited in Egypt, and that Eutychius, who was made patriarch of Alexandria, A. D. 933 [p], in his Arabick hiſtory of that church publiſhed by Mr. Selden, has not only aſſerted the ſame, but given us the particular method by which the Evangeliſt made his firſt convert at Alexandria, and in which he eſtabliſhed the government of the Church there. But to return to Euſebius and Jerome, they tell us that Mark was not only ſucceſsful in making numerous converts, but induced them to a more than common ſtrictneſs in the profeſſion and practice of their new religion; for which reaſon Philo Judæus wrote a peculiar treatiſe concerning them and their manner of living, viz. that intitled Περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ, i. e. *Concerning a contemplative Life.*

[a] Apud Euſeb. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 15. et l. 3. c. 39.
[b] Adv. Hæreſ. l. 3. c. 1.
[c] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 6. c. 14.
[d] In Matth. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 6. c. 25.
[e] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 15.
[f] Catalog. Viror. illuſtr. in Marco.
[g] Hiſtor. Eccleſ. lib. 2. c. 16.
[h] Vid. Epiphan. Hær. 51. §. 6.
[i] Catalog. Viror. illuſtr. in Marco.
[k] MS. in Bibl. Bodleian. apud D. Mill in Teſtimon. Marco præfix.
[l] In Synopſi.
[m] De vit. et obitu Sanctorum, verſus finem.
[n] Præfat. in Marc.
[o] Hiſt. of the Canon of the New Teſt. vol. 2. ch. 2. §. 4.
[p] He was alſo called *Said Ibn Batrick.* See Mr. Selden's Preface, and Account of the Author, and Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 271, 272.

I ſhall

I ſhall not now enquire, how far theſe two Fathers and Epiphanius, who was of the ſame opinion, were in the right, in ſuppoſing that Philo's Eſſenes were Mark's Chriſtian converts, but would refer the reader to the authors which I have elſewhere cited upon this queſtion, and a conjecture of my own which I have in the ſame place propoſed [a], relating to this matter.

3. Another thing delivered by the antients to us concerning St. Mark is, *that he was one of the ſeventy Diſciples whom Chriſt ſent forth*, Luke x. 1, &c. *and that he left Chriſt an account of thoſe words of his*, Unleſs a man eat my fleſh, and drink my blood, he is not worthy of me, John vi. 53, &c. *but that he was afterwards reclaimed by Peter, filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and ſo wrote his Goſpel.*——This is related by ſeveral of the old Chriſtian writers; but it will be enough to mention the teſtimony of Epiphanius, who relates the ſtory with all the mentioned particulars [b]. Grotius [c] and Dr. Cave [d] queſtion the truth and genuineneſs of the tradition, becauſe [e] Papias affirms, that *he neither heard nor followed Chriſt.* But to ſay nothing of what is objected againſt Papias as a witneſs in theſe caſes, it is eaſy to anſwer to this argument; for Papias meant no more than that Mark was not ſuch a diſciple and follower of Chriſt, as to be able to form his Goſpel out of his own knowledge; and this is very conſiſtent with Epiphanius, whoſe account is, that Mark, though he was ſent out by Chriſt, yet left him on occaſion of his diſcourſe, John vi. 53. i. e. almoſt two years before our Lord's aſcenſion, and ſo could not be capable to write a hiſtory of Chriſt upon his own knowledge—I rather therefore incline to give credit to the tradition, and with the famous Jeſuit Petavius [f] obſerve, that there is nothing in the circumſtances of time, but what would incline a perſon to believe he might have ſeen Chriſt; and though Epiphanius ſhould think differently in this matter from other Fathers (viz. Papias, and thoſe who follow him),

[a] See above, Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XVI. p. 211, &c.
[b] Hæreſ. 51. §. 6.
[c] Prolog. in Marc.
[d] Life of S. Mark, §. 1. p. 214.
[e] Apud Euſeb. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 39.
[f] In loc. Epiphan. jam cit.

yet

yet his tradition is not to be rejected, in which he declares that Mark was of the number of the ſeventy-two Diſciples [a].

Concerning the life of Mark in other inſtances, as alſo concerning his death, I know nothing that can be ſaid with ſufficient certainty. The later writers tell us, that he travelled weſtward to the moſt deſert parts of Africa, and, upon his return to Alexandria, was by the idolaters there barbarouſly murdered. But I chooſe rather to refer to the authors of thoſe relations, than to inſert them. See Dorotheus [b], Eutychius Alexandrinus in his Arabick Annals [c], with Mr. Selden's tranſlation and commentary [d], and Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis [e], who ſaith that Mark died, and was *placida quiete ſepultus*; and among the moderns Dr. Cave [f], and Mr. Eachard [g], who has tranſcribed his words. I ſhall only add here, that there is a conſtant tradition received in the Roman Church, which is ſet down as fact by Dr. Cave, "That St. Mark's body, at leaſt "the remains of it, were with great pomp removed from "Alexandria to Venice, where they are religiouſly honoured, "and he adopted as the tutelar ſaint and patron of that ſtate, "and one of the richeſt and ſtatelieſt churches erected to his "memory, that the world can boaſt of at this day." He who would ſee a larger account of this fabulous tranſlation, viz. when, and by what means, the Venetian merchants procured theſe reliques of Mark, may conſult the learned Spanheim. Hiſt. Chriſt. Secul. ix. §. 5. and the authors cited by Mr. Selden, Comment. in Eutych. p. 169.

[a] So he read in his copies of Luke x. 1. as it is alſo in many others, viz. ἑβδομήκοντα δύο, though in the preſent Greek copies made uſe of, it is only ἑβδομήκοντα. Vid. Mill. in Luk. x. 1.

[b] In Synopſi.

[c] P. 38.

[d] P. 166—169.

[e] De vit. et obit. Prophet. &c. in fine.

[f] Life of S. Mark, p. 217.

[g] Eccleſ. Hiſt. b. 2. c. 6. §. 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Occaſion of St. Mark's writing his Goſpel, viz. *the Requeſt of the Church at Rome. That it was wrote under the Direction of St. Peter. The Places of the Antients produced, in which this is aſſerted. The Tradition ſupported by ſeveral Obſervations.*

HITHERTO concerning St. Mark. I proceed now to diſcourſe concerning his Goſpel, and to produce the ſeveral accounts which we have from antiquity relating to it; which I ſhall conſider under the three following heads, viz.

I. The occaſion of its being wrote.

II. The language in which it was wrote.

III. The time of its writing.

I. *As to the occaſion or cauſe, for which the Goſpel of St. Mark was written.* This I have had occaſion to obſerve largely elſewhere [a], but ſhall nevertheleſs particularly ſet down here what the antients have delivered to us upon this head. Papias, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Euſebius, the author of the Synopſis under the name of Athanaſius, and Jerome, are the perſons whom I mean.

Euſebius out of Papias, and the book which went under the name of *The Hypotopoſes of Clemens Alexandrinus*, relates [b], *That when Peter, in the reign of Claudius, came to Rome, and had defeated Simon Magus, the people were ſo inflamed with love for the Chriſtian truths, as not to be ſatisfied with the hearing of them, unleſs they alſo had them written down. That accordingly they with earneſt intreaties applied themſelves to Mark,*

[a] Vindic. of St. Matth. Goſpel, Ch. VI. p. 47.

[b] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 2. c. 15.

a companion

a companion of Peter's, and whoſe Goſpel we now have, praying him that he would write down for them, and leave with them an account of the doctrines which had been preached to them: that they did not deſiſt in their requeſt, till they had prevailed upon him, and procured his writing of that which is now called The Goſpel of MARK. *That when Peter came to know this, he was, by the direction of*[a] *the Holy Spirit, pleaſed with the requeſt of the people, and confirmed the Goſpel which was written for the uſe of the Churches.* This, ſays Euſebius, is related by Clemens Alexandrinus in the ſixth book of his *Hypotopoſes*, and confirmed by the teſtimony of Papias, Biſhop of Hierapolis.

The ſame Euſebius, in two other places of his works, relates particularly what Papias and Clemens have wrote concerning Mark's Goſpel; viz.

The former ſays to this purpoſe, *that Mark, who was Peter's interpreter, exactly wrote down whatſoever he remembered, though not in the ſame order of time, in which the ſeveral things were ſaid or done by Chriſt; for he neither heard nor followed Chriſt, but was a companion of Peter, and compoſed his Goſpel rather with the intent of the people's profit, than writing a regular hiſtory. So that he is in no fault, if he in ſome things wrote according to his memory, he deſigning no more than to omit nothing which he had heard, and to relate nothing falſe*[b].

The latter, viz. the *Hypotopoſes* aſcribed to Clemens Alexandrinus[c], relate, that, according to a tradition of the former preſbyters, the Goſpel of Mark was wrote on the following occaſion, viz. *When Peter was publickly preaching the Goſpel in Rome, by the influences of the Holy Spirit, many of the converts there deſired Mark, as having been a long companion of Peter, and who well remembered what he preached, to write down his diſcourſes; that upon this he compoſed his Goſpel, and*

[a] This paſſage is very ill tranſlated by Valeſius, the words ἀποκαλύψαντος αὐτῷ τὸ πνεύματος, being to be referred, not to Peter's knowing the fact, which needed no divine revelation, but to his approving the book.

[b] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 39.

[c] Apud ejuſdem Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6. c. 14.

gave

gave it to thoſe who made this requeſt, which when Peter knew, he neither obſtructed nor encouraged the work.

Irenæus[a] only ſays, *that after the death of Peter and Paul, who had been preaching at Rome, Mark, the diſciple and interpreter of Peter, wrote down what he had heard him preach.*

Origen[b] adds, *that Mark wrote his Goſpel according to the dictates or directions of Peter.*

The author of the *Synopſis* under the name of Athanaſius, ſaith the ſame as the laſt.

Jerome[c] tells us, that Mark, the diſciple and interpreter of Peter, *wrote a ſhort Goſpel from what he had heard of Peter, at the requeſt of the brethren at Rome, which when Peter knew, he approved and publiſhed it in the churches, commanding the reading of it by his own authority.*

Theſe are the relations of the antients, concerning the occaſion of St. Mark's writing his Goſpel; as to which I would offer the following remarks.

1. That they all agree, that St. Mark *wrote what he heard or learnt from St. Peter.*

2. *That Euſebius makes Clemens Alexandrinus directly to contradict himſelf in this matter:* for whereas he in one place (viz. lib. 2. c. 15.) ſaith, *that Clemens teſtifies Peter's approbation of the Church of Rome's requeſt to Mark to write, as alſo of the Goſpel written:* in another he ſaith, (viz. lib. 6. c. 14.) *that Peter neither obſtructed nor encouraged Mark in his undertaking.* This is ſo plain a contradiction, that I know not how it can be reconciled. Valeſius has indeed attempted a reconciliation[d], viz. *That Peter privately approved it, but not publickly*; but no one, who conſiders the words, can be ſatisfied with this. I doubt not but the former place is the true one, and that St. Peter did approve the writing of Mark, becauſe ſo many of the primitive writers aſſert it; and if we will ſuppoſe Jerome to have looked into this book of Clemens, which he cites, the matter will be paſt doubt; for he ſaith,

[a] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 1.
[b] Expoſit. in Matt. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6. c. 25.
[c] Catalog. Vir. Illuſtr. in Marco.
[d] Annot. in Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6. c. 14. See Father Simon. Crit. Hiſt. New Teſt. part 1. c. 20.

that

that there it was ſaid, that *this Goſpel was approved and delivered to the churches to be read by Peter.* Catalog. Vir. Illuſtr. in Marco.

3. It ſeems more probable *that Mark wrote his Goſpel from what he could remember of Peter's diſcourſes concerning Chriſt*, than *from the immediate dictatings of that Apoſtle*; for moſt of the accounts above ſuppoſe Peter ignorant of his writing, till after he had wrote. See Cotelerius's conjecture to the ſame purpoſe; Not. in Conſtit. Apoſtolic. lib. 2. c. 57. and Valeſ. in Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 39.

4. That which is by all writers on this ſubject cited as the teſtimony of Papias, ought not to be looked upon ſo much to be his, as the teſtimony of *John the Elder*; for it is not only declared by Papias, that *he had all traditions of this ſort from Ariſtion and John the Elder*, but he introduces this very teſtimony thus, καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε: i. e. *and this the Elder (John) ſaid*, viz. that Mark, the interpreter of Peter, &c.

5. St. Mark's character, as interpreter of St. Peter, does not imply *that Apoſtle to have been deſtitute of the gift of tongues.* The word ἑρμηνευτὴς denotes an expoſitor, not only of an unknown language, but of any thing elſe unknown; and in this ſenſe, Mark was properly Peter's interpreter, as he was made uſe of particularly to explain to the people, what the Apoſtle had more largely preached. Dr. Cave has another way of accounting for the matter; viz. "That though the Apoſtles "were divinely inſpired, and among other miraculous powers "had the gift of languages conferred upon them, yet was the "interpretation of tongues a gift more peculiar to ſome than "others. This, ſays he, might probably be St. Mark's talent "in expounding St. Peter's diſcourſes, whether by word or "writing, to thoſe who underſtood not the language wherein "they were delivered [a]."

6. *There are ſome evidences in the Goſpels now received, that St. Mark's Goſpel was written according to the preaching or diſcourſes of Peter, or that the accounts, which we have from the antients, are true.* This I gather from a remark, which I have

[a] Life of St. Mark, p. 214.

elſewhere

elſewhere made[a], and endeavoured to ſupport by proper arguments, viz. *That there are in the Goſpel hiſtory, ſeveral very remarkable circumſtances relating to, and in favour of, St. Peter, which are related by the other Evangeliſts, and not ſo much as mentioned, or hinted at, by St. Mark.* The reaſon of which ſeems to be, that as St. Peter's modeſty would not allow him to publiſh and preach them, ſo neither would he ſuffer them to be inſerted in a Goſpel, which was to go into the world with his approbation, and even under his name. The paſſages in the Goſpel, to which I refer, are ſeveral, that ſeem very much to St. Peter's advantage, and tend to his ſuperiority or advancement above the reſt of the Apoſtles; which as that Apoſtle would decline from in preaching, ſo would he not encourage to be written, and conſequently as they are in the other Goſpels, and not in St. Mark, ſeem clearly to intimate to us, that St. Mark wrote from the preaching of Peter. I have in the book laſt cited, collected ſeveral of theſe inſtances, which, for the ſake of the curious in theſe ſtudies, I ſhall here ſet down, viz.

A Catalogue of ſeveral places in the Goſpel hiſtory, which relate things tending to St. Peter's honour, which are not mentioned by St. Mark in his Goſpel.

I. *The account of Chriſt's pronouncing Peter bleſſed, when he had confeſſed him; his declaring that he had his faith and knowledge from God; his promiſe of the keys and of that large power, which is made to him,* &c. are omitted by St. Mark, though the former and ſucceeding parts of this diſcourſe are both told by him. See Matt. xvi. 16—20. compared with Mark viii. 29, 30.

II. *The relation of St. Peter's being commiſſioned by Chriſt to work the miracle, by getting money out of the fiſh's mouth, to pay the tribute money,* is told by St. Matthew, Ch. xvii. 24, &c. but omitted by St. Mark, though the preceding and ſubſe-

[a] Vindication of St. Matthew's Goſpel, ch. vi. p. 48, &c.

quent

quent ſtories are the very ſame as in St. Matthew. See Mark ix. 30—33.

III. *Chriſt's particular expreſſions of love and favour to St. Peter, in telling him of his danger, and that he prayed particularly for him, that his faith might not fail,* is omitted by St. Mark, but related Luke xxii. 31, 32.

IV. *St. Peter's remarkable humility above the reſt of the Apoſtles, expreſſed in an unwillingneſs that Chriſt ſhould waſh his feet, which none of the reſt did expreſs, with Chriſt's particular diſcourſe to him,* &c. John xiii. 6, &c. is omitted by Mark.

V. *The inſtance of St. Peter's very great zeal for Chriſt, when he was taken, in cutting off the High-Prieſt's ſervant's ear,* John xviii. 10. is not mentioned by St. Mark in particular, but only told in general of a certain perſon that ſtood by, Mark xiv. 47.

VI. *St. Peter's faith, in leaping into the ſea to go to Chriſt,* John xxi. 7. is not mentioned by St. Mark.

VII. *Chriſt's diſcourſe with Peter, concerning his love to him, and his particular repeated charge to him to feed his ſheep,* John xxi. 15. is omitted by St. Mark.

VIII. *Our Saviour's predicting to Peter his martyrdom, and the manner of it,* John xxi. 18, 19. is not related by St. Mark.

Theſe are ſome inſtances of things tending to St. Peter's honour, recorded by the other Evangeliſts, none of which are ſo much as hinted at by St. Mark. I add alſo, that there is not any one ſingle inſtance in all his Goſpel, like to thoſe mentioned, or which tends to advance the honour and prerogative of Peter above the reſt of the Apoſtles; all which cannot be accounted for by any way more probable, than ſuppoſing that the Apoſtle did not publiſh thoſe circumſtances which were ſo much in his favour. In this remark I have the

pleaſure to join with Euſebius, and the learned Doway profeſſor, Eſtius, whoſe words are to this purpoſe; "Why, ſays "he, St. Mark ſhould omit in his Goſpel thoſe great and ho- "nourable promiſes made to St. Peter, which we read Matt. "xvi. may be ſeen in Euſebius, Demonſtr. Evang. lib. 3. c. "7. St. Peter's humility would not ſuffer him to tell theſe "things to St. Mark, when he was writing his Goſpel. It is "remarkable that the three other Evangeliſts relate thoſe "things, which tend to advance the honour and prerogative "of St. Peter: only St. Mark, who wrote his Goſpel accord- "ing to what he heard from St. Peter, hath omitted them; "which evidences the great modeſty of the Apoſtle[a]."

Dr. Hammond has another argument, by which he endeavours to prove the truth of the account, given by the antients, of St. Mark's writing under the direction of Peter[b]. After he has produced the account, he adds; "And of this "there be ſome characters diſcernible in the writing itſelf; "as that, ſetting down the ſtory of Peter's denying Chriſt "with the ſame enumeration of circumſtances, and aggrava- "tions of the fault, that Matthew doth, when he comes to "mention his repentance, and tears conſequent to it, he doth "it, as became the true penitent, *more coldly* than Matthew had "done, only ἔκλαυσε, *he wept*; whereas Matthew hath ἔκλαυσε πι- "κρῶς, *he wept bitterly.*"

7. It is no ſmall proof that the antients' account of St. Mark's writing his Goſpel under the direction of, or from, Peter is true, that *the Goſpel went under the name of Peter*, and was ſtyled *the Goſpel of Peter*, being thought to be wrote by him. This we are expreſsly told by Tertullian[c], and not obſcurely by Juſtin Martyr[d], as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

8. *If the word Babylon*, 1 Pet. v. 13. *be put for Rome*, as is generally thought by the antients[e], all the Popiſh writers,

[a] In Difficil. Script. loca, in Marc. viii. 29.

[b] Annot. on the title of Matthew.

[c] Evangelium, quod Marcus edidit, Petri aſſirmetur, cuius interpres Marcus. Adv. Marcion. l. 4. c. 5.

[d] Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 333.

[e] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 15. Hieron. Catalog. Vir. Illuſtr. in Marco, et alii paſſim.

and

and many Proteſtants; we have then hence a farther confirmation of the truth of the antients' account of the occaſion of St. Mark's writing, viz. his writing from Peter's direction at Rome; viz. it will hence appear, that St. Mark was with Peter at Rome, and that he made uſe of him in the ſervice of the Goſpel, becauſe he calls him his ſon—The words are, *The Church which is at Babylon* [at Rome], *elected together with you, ſaluteth you, and ſo doth Mark my ſon* (or aſſiſtant in the Goſpel-work.)

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Language in which St. Mark wrote his Goſpel. The Arguments of Baronius and Bellarmine, to prove that he wrote in Latin, refuted. Concerning the Time of St. Mark's writing. Two different Opinions propoſed. St. Peter was at Rome. When he came firſt thither; viz. not till the ninth or tenth of Nero, or the Year of Chriſt, LXIII. or LXIV.

THUS I have given the beſt account I can of the original of St. Mark's Goſpel, and added ſuch remarks, as appear to me illuſtrating and confirming of it. I proceed now to conſider,

II. *In what language this Goſpel of St. Mark was written.*

Beſides Baronius and Bellarmine, and a few zealous Papiſts who have followed them, I know no one but ſubſcribes to the common report of antiquity, that St. Mark wrote in Greek. Theſe Cardinals pretend *he wrote in Latin*; but nothing can be pretended upon more weak arguments: all their reaſoning may be reduced to the three following heads, which I ſhall briefly refute;

1. They urge, *that St. Mark, writing his Goſpel at Rome,*

muſt be ſuppoſed to write it in the language, which was moſt in uſe there at that time; i. e. in Latin. But it is eaſy to reply;

(1.) That the *Greek language was very much known and in uſe at Rome, when St. Mark wrote.* This was the univerſal language, as Cicero, Seneca [a], and other writers of that time, aſſure us; and even the very women at Rome ſpake in that language [b].

(2.) The converts at Rome were, for the moſt part, of the Jews (as they alſo were in other countries [c]), and theſe generally underſtood Greek, and made uſe of the Greek Bibles. Grotius's words are as remarkable as true [d]; "The Jews, "who dwelt at Rome, were for the moſt part ignorant of the "Latin tongue, but by means of their long abode in Aſia and "Greece, had learnt the Greek; and of which language "there were ſcarce any of the Romans ignorant."

(3.) Hence St. Paul, writing an Epiſtle to the Romans, *wrote it in Greek, and not in Latin.*

2. It is urged, that *there are ſeveral Latin words made Greek in St. Mark's Goſpel*, and thence concluded, that the whole Goſpel was wrote in Latin.

What can be more abſurd? The argument proves nothing, unleſs it be the directly contrary to what it is brought for. He who was tranſlating out of Latin into Greek, can never be ſuppoſed to put Latin words for Latin words. Accordingly Dr. Mill has juſtly made this an argument to prove St. Mark wrote firſt in Greek [e]; and there are Latin words in each of the Evangeliſts, as well as Mark.

3. It is urged, that the Syriack, Arabick, and Perſick Verſions affirm St. Mark to have wrote in Latin. To which I anſwer,

[a] Orat. pro Arch. Poet. §. 23. Senec. Conſolat. ad Helv. c. 6.

[b] See Du Pin's Canon of the New Teſt. ch. 2. §. 4. p. 42.

[c] See above, Vol. I. Part I. Ch. II. p. 26.

[d] Græce autem ſcripſit Marcus, quamquam in gratiam præcipue Romanorum, ſicut et Paulus ad Romanos epiſtolam Græca ſcripſit lingua; quia Judæi qui Romæ agebant, plerique Latini ſermonis ignari, longa per Græciam et Aſiam habitatione Græcam linguam didicerant, et Romanorum vix quiſquam erat non Græce intelligens. Annot. in Titul. Marci.

[e] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. §. 111.

(1.) That

(1.) That these epigraphs, or postscripts, at the end of these Versions, are of very uncertain authority.

(2.) That the Arabick and Persick Versions are generally agreed, by those who have examined them, *to be made out of the Syriack Version*; and Lud. de Dieu has, by a very ingenious and solid criticism on the Epigraph at the end of the Arabick Version of Mark, proved that Version to be very late.

(3.) That the Epigraph of the Syriack Version, does not affirm Mark to have wrote in Latin, as is generally taken for granted, but only saith, that he *spoke and preached in Latin at Rome*; the words are, ܡܠܠ ܘܟܪܙ *He spake his Gospel, and preached it.*

As to the testimony of Eutychius Alexandrinus, urged by Baronius, to prove St. Mark to have wrote in Latin, I think there is nothing needful to be said, he being so late a writer; and besides, Mr. Selden[a] has largely shewn that the Arabick word رومية *Romana*, may be very well taken to denote the Greek language, and then Eutychius's testimony will be, that Mark wrote in Greek. Concerning this whole matter, see *Father Simon's Crit. Hist. of the New Test. Part I. ch.* 11.

III. It remains, that some enquiry *be made into the time* when St. Mark wrote his Gospel. In this matter it is exceeding difficult to come to any clear determination. That which occasions the difficulty, is the uncertainty we are under as to the time when St. Peter came to Rome. Some have absolutely denied that he ever was there; and as they endeavour from Scripture to shew, that during the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, he was either at Jerusalem, Samaria, or Antioch; so from St. Paul's Epistles, which were written from Rome, and that which was written to Rome, all of them in the reign of Nero, they finding no salutations sent to Peter, nor from Peter, they conclude, that he never was at Rome[b]. But these seem to be arguments too weak to counterbalance

[a] Comment. in Eutych. Orig. Alex. p. 152.

[b] See Bunting's Itinerar. tot. Script. in English, p. 496.

the univerſal teſtimony of antiquity: there is ſcarce any fact which is more generally atteſted; ſo that for my part, I know not how to deny St. Peter's having been at Rome, without aſſerting at the ſame time, that the moſt univerſal concurrence of the primitive Chriſtians in relating a fact, is not to be depended upon. The queſtion therefore before us now is, *When St. Peter was at Rome?* I ſhall briefly lay down the differing opinions, and then, what appears more probable.

1. The Popiſh writers generally aſſert, that St. Peter came to *Rome in the ſecond year of Claudius, or the year of Chriſt XLIV*[a]. This is well known: the foundation of their opinion is, that Euſebius in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory[b] ſaith; *Peter, by the direction of Providence, came to Rome in the reign of Claudius, to contend with, and overcome Simon Magus*; and in his Chronicon, that *after he had been at Antioch, he went to Rome, in the ſecond year of Claudius*, i. e. *the year of Chriſt XLIV*. Thoſe who are of this opinion, ſuppoſe the Goſpel of St. Mark to be written at this time, as Euſebius ſeems alſo to have thought; and ſo it is aſſerted at the end of the Arabick Verſion[c], and of many antient manuſcripts of this Goſpel, particularly one mentioned by Dr. Hammond[d], two referred to by Father Simon[e], and thirteen cited by Dr. Mill[f], as it is alſo by Theophylact[g], and others of the Greek Scholiaſts.

2. Moſt Proteſtants, and ſome learned writers among the Papiſts, *ſuppoſe Peter's coming to Rome not to have been till many years after*, viz. not till Nero's reign, and the ninth or tenth year of that reign, i. e. about the year of Chriſt 63, or 64. The foundations of this opinion are,

(1.) That St. Paul in his Epiſtle to the Romans, *does not ſalute Peter*, though he ſpends almoſt a whole chapter in ſaluting particular perſons at Rome, and this Epiſtle is ſuppoſed

[a] Vid. inter alios Dionyſ. Petav. Rationar. Tempor. Par. I. lib. v. c. 3. & Achill. Primin. Gaſſar. Epit. Hiſt. & Chronic. Mundi, p. 93.

[b] Lib. 2. c. 14.

[c] Vid. Lud. de Dieu in Marci cap. ult.

[d] Annot. in Titul. Matth.

[e] Crit. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part I. c. 10.

[f] In Marc. cap. ult.

[g] Præfat. in Marc.

to

to be wrote about the year 53, or after, viz. in the end of Claudius's reign [a].

(2.) That upon St. Paul's coming to Rome firſt, which was about the year of Chriſt 58, or 59, viz. in the beginning of Nero, *he neither met with Peter there, nor any ſigns of his having been there*; but on the contrary, found the people there ignorant of, and much unacquainted with, Chriſtianity [b]. See Acts xxviii. 21, 22, &c. 28.

For my own part, I cannot but ſuſpect the validity of this argument in part; for it is certain, that, before St. Paul's coming to Rome, there were many converts made there to the Chriſtian religion. The Epiſtle to the Roman converts, was wrote four or five years before Paul was at Rome; and when he came there, the brethren met him, ſome at Appii Forum, ſome at the Three Taverns; Acts xxviii. 15. yet, on the other hand, all this may be ſuppoſed, without any Apoſtle's having been there to preach to them; for the Goſpel having been now preached five or ſix and twenty years, it is no way unreaſonable to ſuppoſe it ſhould in this time reach Rome, where there was a general conflux of all ſorts of people. See Dr. Whitby on Acts xxviii. 15.

(3.) *That Paul makes no mention of Peter in any one of thoſe Epiſtles, which he wrote from Rome to the churches*; which in all probability he would have done, had Peter been there [c] any part of that time.

(4.) That on the contrary, in his Epiſtle from Rome to the Coloſſians, St. Paul tells them, *that (of the Jews) Mark, ſiſter's ſon to Barnabas, and Jeſus, called Juſtus, were the only fellow-labourers which he had in promoting the kingdom of God*, *Col.* iv. 10, 11. This evidently excludes Peter [d].

Theſe, with ſome other reaſons, make it evident to me, that St. Peter was not at Rome till the ninth or tenth year of Nero; i. e. till the year of Chriſt 63, or 64. and conſe-

[a] See Dr. Cave's Life of Peter, Sect. 11.

[b] Cleric. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Secul. I. ad Ann. 61. p. 412. and Dr. Cave loc. cit.

[c] Cleric. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Secul. 1. ad Ann. 62. p. 422. et ad Ann. 68. p. 447. Cave, ubi ſupra. Eachard's Eccleſ. Hiſt. b. 2. c. 6. §. 5.

[d] Cave & Cleric. loc. cit.

quently, that the Goſpel of St. Mark was not written before this time, but between this and the martyrdom of this Apoſtle and St. Paul at Rome, i. e. the year of Chriſt 67, or 68, which happened at the ſame time. See the teſtimonies of Caius in his book againſt Proculus, and Dionyſius, Biſhop of Corinth, in his Epiſtle to the Romans to this purpoſe, both of whom lived in the ſecond century [a]. I ſhall only add, that in the ſmall tract of Lactantius, *concerning the death of perſecutors*, we read, *that Peter came to Rome during Nero's reign, and made a great many converts there, and ſo formed a church in this place of the empire*; *which account* (ſays Biſhop Burnet in the preface to his Engliſh tranſlation of this tract [b]), *cuts off the fable of Peter's having been there for five and twenty years*; i. e. from the ſecond year of Claudius, or the forty fourth year of Chriſt; and that in the Arabick Annals of Eutychius Alexandrinus, publiſhed by Mr. Selden, the time of writing this Goſpel is ſaid to have been in Nero's reign: his words are in Engliſh thus, *In the time of Nero Cæſar, Peter, the chief of the Apoſtles, wrote the Goſpel of Mark together with Mark, in the Latin* (Greek) *tongue, in the city of Rome, but he gave the title of it to Mark.*

[a] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 2. c. 25.

[b] Pag. 4. Le Clerc, Secul. 1. ad Ann. 68. p. 448. (though I confeſs I know not upon what grounds) tells us this book was not wrote (as its editor Baluzius, and Tranſlator Biſhop Burnet ſuppoſed) by Lactantius, but L. Cæcilius.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

St. Mark's Goſpel proved to be Canonical. It is in all the antient Catalogues of ſacred Books. It is cited as Scripture by the primitive Fathers. It was read in their Churches. It is in the Syriack Collection, or Verſion. Objections againſt its Authority anſwered. The laſt Chapter of this Goſpel proved to be genuine and authentick.

I COME now to eſtabliſh the Canonical authority of this Goſpel, which I ſhall endeavour by the following arguments.

Arg. I. The Goſpel of St. Mark is of Canonical authority by Prop. IV. becauſe *it is in all the catalogues of Canonical books, which we have among the writings of the primitive Chriſtians.* Theſe catalogues I have collected and referred to Vol. I. Part I. Ch. VIII. viz. the catalogue of Origen, Euſebius, Athanaſius, Cyrill, the Council of Laodicea, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Philaſtrius, Jerome, Ruffin, Auſtin, the third Council of Carthage, and the author of the books under the name of *Dionyſius the Areopagite.* To which I add the general proof I have above made in this Part, that the four Goſpels only, which we now receive, were received by the firſt Churches of Chriſtians, and approved as Scripture, viz. the three firſt by St. John the Evangeliſt, and the four together by Polycarp, Tatian, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Euſebius, Athanaſius, Ambroſe, Jerome, &c. See above in this Part the previous Diſſertation.

Arg. II. The Goſpel of St. Mark is of Canonical authority, becauſe *it is cited as Scripture in the writings of the primitive Chriſtians*, by Prop. V. How largely and frequently St. Matthew's Goſpel was appealed to by them, we have already ſeen; and if we do not find St. Mark as often cited, it cannot be thought ſtrange, becauſe the far greateſt part of St. Mark's

Mark's Goſpel, and what is related in it, is alſo related by St. Matthew. I ſhall however produce the ſeveral places which I have obſerved.

1. *In the writings* (as they are called) *of the Apoſtolick Fathers, I have not obſerved any places of this Goſpel referred to, which are not alſo in St. Matthew,* and accordingly ſet down above, as being taken out of that Goſpel, though perhaps ſeveral of them were taken out of St. Mark. I ſhall therefore refer the reader to the collection or catalogue of the citations made by theſe Fathers out of St. Matthew.

2. *In Juſtin Martyr's works the caſe is the ſame as in the Apoſtolick Fathers*; only *one place* I have obſerved, in which he cites ſomething which is in St. Mark's Goſpel, and not in St. Matthew's. The place I mean is (Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 333.) where he ſaith; Καὶ τὸ ἐπιθεῖν μετωνομακέναι αὐτὸν τὸν Πέτρον ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτῶ γεγενημένον: i. e. *It is ſaid that he changed the name of one of his Apoſtles into Peter; and the fact is related in* his *Commentaries or Goſpel.* This is not in Matthew, but in Mark iii. 16. we read, Καὶ ἐπέθηκε τ�ῶ Σίμωνι ὄνομα Πέτρον: i. e. *And Simon he ſurnamed Peter.* It is plain therefore that Juſtin had ſeen St. Mark's Goſpel; and though indeed this be alſo related by Luke (vi. 14.), yet it is to me evident he cited Mark, and not Luke, becauſe he ſays it was written ἐν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτῶ: i. e. in his Commentaries, viz. the *Commentaries or Goſpel of Peter,* whom he had juſt named, and to whom the word αὐτῶ is undoubtedly to be referred, and not to Chriſt.

(1.) Becauſe Juſtin Martyr, though he very *often mentions* the ἀπομνημονεύματα, or Commentaries of the Apoſtles, *never once mentions* the ἀπομνημονεύματα of Chriſt.

(2.) Becauſe *it is certain the Goſpel of Mark went at that time under the name of Peter.* This I have above proved out of Tertullian.

(3.) Becauſe (if I miſtake not) *it would not be very elegant Greek to write* ἀπομνημονεύματα Χριστῶ; this would be juſt the ſame as to call the Goſpels in Latin, *Libri* or *Commentarii Chriſti,* inſtead of *Libri* or *Commentarii de Chriſto.*

III.

III. IRENÆUS.

St. MARK's *Goſpel.*	*The Works of* IRENÆUS.
1 Ch. i. 1, &c.	1 Lib. 3. adv. Hæreſ. c. 11. 18.
2 —— 24.	2 Lib. 4. adv. Hæreſ. c. 14.
3 Ch. ix. 23.	3 —— c. 72.
4 —— 44, 46, 48.	4 Lib. 2. c. 56.
5 Ch. xiii. 32.	5 —— c. 48.
6 Ch. xvi. 17, 18. cited together with Luke x. 19.	6 —— c. 36.
7 —— 19.	7 Lib. 3. c. 11.

Note here;

1. That in the firſt and laſt of theſe places Mark *is cited by name.*

2. *That in every one elſe what is cited is in his Goſpel, and not in the others*, except one place which is in Luke.

3. That I have omitted all thoſe places *where there is the ſame in Matthew and Mark, though there is equal reaſon to ſuppoſe*, that Irenæus referred to Mark, as to Matthew.

IV. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

He has undoubtedly in ſeveral places of his Pædagogus and Stromata (viz. the works which are uſually bound together under his name), cited St. Mark's Goſpel; but inaſmuch as he has not, that I have found, cited it by name, nor produced any places but what are in St. Matthew's Goſpel too, I thought a collection of them would be needleſs; only I would obſerve, that in his little tract, intitled, *Quis Dives ſalvetur?* he has cited a long paragraph out of this Goſpel, viz. from ver. 17. of the tenth chapter to ver. 32. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται; *Theſe things*, ſays he, *are written in the Goſpel according to Mark* (Vid. cap. 4, 5.)

V.

V. TERTULLIAN

Appears plainly to have made uſe of St. Mark's Goſpel, and has many times cited out of it that which is not in any other, and ſometimes that which is. I have collected the following inſtances.

St. MARK's *Goſpel.*	TERTULLIAN's *Works.*
1 Ch. i. 2.	1 Adv. Jud. c. 9. It is true Tertullian ſeems there to cite the Prophet Malachi iii. 1. but it is very evident he made uſe of Mark; for he has followed Mark's words, which are different both from the Hebrew and all the Greek copies of the LXX. In the Hebrew it is, I will ſend my meſſenger, and he ſhall prepare the way לפני i. e. *before me*; and ſo in the LXX. πρὸ προσώπου μου, i. e. *before me*, whereas Mark has it πρὸ προσώπου σου, and ὃδόν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου, i. e. *before thy face, and before thee*; and in this Tertullian follows him, *ante faciem tuam, qui præparabit viam tuam ante te*; i. e. *before thy face, who ſhall prepare thy way before thee*; which are the very words of Mark, not only differing

St.

St. MARK's *Goſpel.*	TERTULLIAN's *Works.*
1 Ch. i. 2.	from, but larger than either the Hebrew, or LXX.
2 Ch. i. 24.	2 Lib. adv. Prax. c. 26.
3 Ch. iii. 7.	3 Lib. de Pudicit. c. 21.
4 Ch. v. 9.	4 Lib. de Animâ, c. 25. et de Fugâ. in Perſecut. c. 2.
5 Ch. vii. 3.	5 Lib. de Baptiſm. c. 15. Vid. Pamel. in Loc.
6 Ch. viii. 38.	6 Lib. de carne Chriſti, c. 5. et de Præſcript. adv. Gnoſt. c. 9.
7 Ch. xiv. 13.	7 Lib. de Baptiſm. c. 19.
8 Ch. xvi. 9.	8 Lib. de Animâ, c. 25.
9 ——— 19.	9 Lib. adv. Prax. c. 30.

Theſe are ſome places in which Tertullian made uſe of St. Mark's Goſpel, none of which are to be found in St. Matthew; ſo that it is as probable he cited this Goſpel in thoſe places which are the ſame in it and St. Matthew's, as that he cited St. Matthew's; and if ſo, it would be eaſy to produce almoſt half a hundred inſtances more.

It would be a ſuperfluous taſk and endleſs labour to go, in like manner as above, through all the writers of the firſt four centuries, and collect the citations which they have made of this Goſpel. Origen, Euſebius, Athanaſius, Epiphanius, Jerome, Auſtin, &c. have made too many references to this Goſpel to require a collection of them; beſides, ſeveral of the Fathers of theſe times have wrote Commentaries or Homilies upon this Goſpel, as on the other parts of Scripture; which, with what is already ſaid, is enough to evince its Canonical authority by Prop. V.

Arg. III. The Goſpel of St. Mark is of Canonical authority (by Prop. VI.), becauſe *it was read as Scripture among the other books of ſacred Scripture in the Aſſemblies or Churches of the primitive Chriſtians.* This will be evident to every one who

who will consult Cyrill of Jerusalem, the fifty-ninth Canon of the Council of Laodicea, as above referred to Part I. Ch. X. and in this Part above, concerning St. Matthew, Chap. III. where it is also shewn, that in Justin Martyr's time the Gospels were wont to be read in the Churches; and as Justin did esteem St. Mark's Gospel to be a true one, and cited it as such, there can be no reason to question but he includes this among those other ἀπομνημονεύματα, or memoirs of the Apostles, which were read in the Churches.

Arg. IV. St. Mark's Gospel is Canonical, because *it was esteemed so by the Churches of Syria in or near the Apostles' time, and accordingly by them in those days translated, and inserted in their collection of sacred books*; Prop. XV. At the end of this Gospel in Syriack we accordingly read,

ܫܠܡ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܟܪܘܙܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܩܘܣ ܕܡܠܠ ܘܐܟܪܙ
ܪܗܘܡܐܝܬ ܒܪܗܘܡܝ

i. e. *The end of the Holy Gospel of the preaching of Mark, which he spake and preached in Latin at Rome.*

Having thus endeavoured to establish the Canonical authority of this Gospel of St. Mark, I shall now briefly consider that which has been or may be objected against it.

1. It may seem a very considerable objection against this Gospel and its authority, *that it seems to be only an epitome, or abridgment of St. Matthew's Gospel.*

To this I answer, that were the fact certain, and it could be made appear, that St. Mark did transcribe his Gospel out of St. Matthew's, it would very much weaken its authority, and lessen the credit of its inspiration. This I have elsewhere more largely observed (viz. Vindicat. of St. Matthew's Gospel, Ch. X.), and shewn how absurd it is to suppose a person under the conduct of inspiration, transcribing or stealing out of another's labours. The little necessity there is for inspiration in such a case, is no mean argument that there was none at all. What need had a man of the guidance of the Holy Ghost, to read and write out here and there a piece of a history,

where

where he had a mind? How odd is it to ſay, The Holy Spirit inſpired one perſon to write a hiſtory, and then inſpired another to abridge it! i. e. The Holy Spirit thought fit at firſt to have ſo much wrote, but then afterwards that it ſhould not be quite ſo much, but the ſuperfluities of his firſt work ſhould be left out. Farther, as the ſuppoſing St. Mark an epitomiſer of St. Matthew leſſens the credit of inſpiration, ſo it detracts from the honour and uſefulneſs of St. Mark's work. It is little better than to ſay, this Goſpel was ſtolen, and the author a plagiary; and accordingly Ruffin in the fourth century, and ſome bigotted Papiſts ſince, have called it *Religioſum Furtum*, a religious theft, or pious fraud [a]. Accordingly Spinoza [b] and Father Simon have by this very means attempted to ruin the credit of the books of the Old Teſtament, viz. by aſſerting them to be only extracts out of larger records now loſt. All this and much more would follow, if we ſuppoſe St. Mark's Goſpel an epitome of St. Matthew's; but the truth is, the world hath been miſtaken entirely in the fact; and though ſome among the antients, and almoſt all later writers have aſſerted it, *it is utterly falſe*, and moſt evident, that St. Mark did not abridge St. Matthew, as I have in another book proved, by ſuch arguments as appear to me undeniably concluſive; which I ſhall think it ſufficient to refer the reader to [c], with what is above ſaid in this work, Part I. Ch. XIII. Prop. XIV.

II. It is objected, *that Mark himſelf was not an Apoſtle and eye-witneſs of what he wrote, but only a companion of the Apoſtles, and conſequently his Goſpel is, and ought to be of no more authority, than the writings of Barnabas, Clemens, or any other companion of the Apoſtles.* This is urged by Mr. Toland, Amynt. p. 47, 48. His words are, "If they think them "(viz. the Epiſtle of Barnabas, Clemens, &c.) genuine, why "do they not receive them into the Canon of Scriptures, "ſince they were the companions and fellow-labourers of the

[a] See Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trident. Pars. 1. p. 34.

[b] Tract. Theolog. Polit. c. 8. and c. 9. in init.

[c] Vindicat. of St. Matthew, c. 6, &c.

"Apoſtles,

" Apoſtles, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke? If this qua-
" lity was ſufficient to entitle the two laſt to inſpiration, why
" ſhould it not do as much for the two firſt? And if this be
" not all the reaſon, pray let us know the true one, having
" never heard of any other."

To all this I anſwer;

1. That St. Mark is *not received as Canonical*, only becauſe *he was a companion of the Apoſtles*, but becauſe *he wrote under the direction of an inſpired Apoſtle St. Peter*; *and who*, as Euſebius ſaith, *approved the book* ἀποκαλύψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πνεύματος, i. e. *by the revelation of the Holy Ghoſt* [a].

2. That St. Mark's Goſpel *was approved by St. John*, as I have above ſhewn; ſee the Diſſertation prefixed to this Part.

3. That *it was received by the primitive Churches as Canonical*, was read in their Aſſemblies, and cited in their writings as Scripture; which cannot be proved of Clemens, Barnabas, &c.

4. That it contains nothing falſe or fabulous; which I have proved above, Part III. Ch. XLI. &c. that the Epiſtle of Barnabas doth, and ſhall hereafter prove of Clemens.

It would ſcarce be juſtice to St. Mark, and the ſubject which I have now in hand, if I ſhould finiſh it without obſerving, that whatever has been ſurmiſed to the contrary, *the laſt chapter of this Goſpel is equally Canonical with any other part.* The matter has been controverted, and there have been thoſe who have thought it ſhould be excluded from the Canon; I mean not the whole chapter (as many, Eraſmus, Beza, Druſius, &c. *in loc.* have falſely underſtood the queſtion), but only that part of it which is after the words ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, i. e. *after the end of the eighth verſe.* The reaſon of this controverſy is, that Jerome in a letter to Hedibia, who deſired him to reconcile the differences between the Evangeliſts Matthew and Mark, about our Saviour's reſurrection, anſwers, " That there were two ways of ſolving the difficulty, viz. " Either we muſt reject the teſtimony of Mark, *which is in*

[a] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 2. c. 15.

" *few*

" *few copies of his Goſpel, almoſt all the Greek copies wanting* " *this ſection in the end of his Goſpel, beſides that it ſeems dif-* " *ferent from, and contrary to, the accounts of the other Evan-* " *geliſts*, &c [a]." (The other anſwer I need not mention.) And beſides Jerome, Gregory Nyſſene ſays, this laſt ſection was wanting in ſeveral, *and thoſe the moſt exact copies* [b]. Beſides, Father Simon declares [c], that he ſaw two antient Greek manuſcripts in the French King's library, and one in Monſieur Colbert's, in each of which was inſerted a note in Greek to this purpoſe, *that what followed after*, ver. 8. *in this laſt chapter of Mark, was only to be found in ſome copies.* Dr. Mill has mentioned ſome old Greek Scholiaſts, viz. Euthymius, Victor Antiochenus, and an anonymous writer, who ſays the ſame [d]. But to all this I anſwer, and will endeavour to ſhew, that this laſt part of the Goſpel of St. Mark is equally authentick with the reſt; for

1. Though Jerome ſays, this ſection was not in moſt of the Greek copies of this Goſpel, yet *he himſelf ſeems not to have rejected it*, becauſe he endeavours afterwards to reconcile Matthew and Mark together.

2. Becauſe Irenæus (lib. 3. c. 11.) *has cited the nineteenth verſe of this chapter, which is the laſt except one*, and introduces it thus; *In fine autem Evangelii ait Marcus:* from whence it is evident, that the whole chapter was in his copy of Mark.

3. Athanaſius [e] and Auſtin [f] have alſo cited this part of St. Mark's Goſpel.

[a] Hujus quæſtionis duplex eſt ſolutio: aut enim non recipimus Marci teſtimonium, quod in raris fertur evangeliis, omnibus Græcis libris pæne hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus; præſertim quum diverſa atque contraria evangeliſtis cæteris narrare videatur: aut hoc reſpondendum, quod uterque verum dixerit, &c. Epiſt. ad Hedib. qu. 3.

[b] Apud Mill. Not. in Marc. xvi. 8. et Fabric. Cod. Apocr. Nov. Teſt. tom. 1. p. 326. *who has obſerved after Combefiſius, who publiſhed them, and Dr. Cave's Hiſt. Liter. p.* 443, *that thoſe two orations*, de Reſurrectione Chriſti, *under the name of Gregory Nyſſene, were made by Heſychius Hieroſolymitanus.*

[c] Crit. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part 1. c. 11.

[d] Loc. jam cit.

[e] In Synopſ.

[f] De Conſenſ. Evang. l. 3. c. 24.

4. *All the Greek manuſcripts which are in the world, have this part of St. Mark's Goſpel.* Eraſmus [a] and Beza [b] declare, it was in all the antient manuſcripts which they had ſeen.

5. *All the antient Verſions extant, Syriack, Latin, and* (as I find by De Dieu's Commentary) *Arabick, have it.*

6. Grotius [c] well argues, that *it was very improbable St. Mark would omit the hiſtory of our Saviour's reſurrection, which is one of the moſt conſiderable parts of the Goſpel hiſtory.*

7. The ſame learned critick aſſigns this probable reaſon of this ſection being wanting in ſome Greek copies, viz. *It was left out with deſign, becauſe it ſeemed to contradict St. Matthew, that Porphyry, Julian, and ſuch others, might not take occaſion thence to ridicule the Goſpel,* as Mr. Fabricius [d], who follows Grotius, well obſerves, and adds, that it is a caſe like what happened to thoſe words (Mar. xiii. 32.) οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς, *neither the Son,* that they might the better evade the force of the Arian objections.

[a] Annot. in Mar. xvi. 14.
[b] Annot. in Mar. xvi. 9.
[c] Annot. in Mar. xvi. 1.
[d] Cod. Apocr. Nov. Teſtam. Par. 1. p. 327.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Scripture Accounts of St. Luke. The Accounts of him from Antiquity, viz. that he was born at Antioch. Arguments to prove that he was not a Jew. He was a Phyſician. Of his painting. He was one of Chriſt's Seventy Diſciples. An Objection to this anſwered. St. Luke was St. Paul's Companion and Aſſiſtant. Was acquainted with ſeveral of the Apoſtles. Concerning his Death.

IN treating of this Goſpel, I ſhall endeavour to proceed in the ſame method as in the preceding Goſpel; viz. *firſt to give ſome account of the author, and then of his Goſpel.*

As to St. Luke, the author of this Goſpel, I ſhall diſtinctly conſider,

I. What is ſaid of him in the writings of the New Teſtament.

II. What is related concerning him in the antient writings of the Chriſtians, which is credible.

I. *As to what is ſaid of St. Luke the Evangeliſt in the writings of the New Teſtament.* The name is mentioned, Col. iv. 14 *Luke the beloved phyſician and Demas greet you.* 2 Tim. iv. 11. *Only Luke is with me.* Philem. 24. *Marcus, Ariſtarchus, Demas, Lucas, my fellow-labourers.* Concerning which places I obſerve, that it has been generally ſuppoſed by antient and modern writers, that Luke the Evangeliſt, or author of the Goſpel, *is the perſon meant in each of thoſe places.* Eraſmus [a] indeed, and after him Calvin [b], ſuppoſe *another perſon meant, Col.* iv. 14. *by Luke the beloved phyſician.* The whole foundation of their opinion is, that it would have been needleſs for Paul to have given him the diſtinguiſhing character of a phyſician, he being a perſon more known than to need ſuch a mark of diſtinction; and that it is much more reaſonable to

[a] Annot. in Col. iv. 14. [b] In eund. loc.

ſuppoſe St. Paul would have called him here, as he does elſewhere, his companion, or fellow-labourer. But to this it may be anſwered;

1. That there was no reaſon, why St. Paul ſhould not give him this title, if it belonged to him.

2. That it is certain, Luke the Evangeliſt was now with St. Paul at Rome, when he wrote this Epiſtle from thence to the Coloſſians.

3. That he is named together with Demas in this place, as well as the others, about which there is no diſpute.

4. That he is generally ſaid to have been a phyſician in the antient writings.

Although there are no other places in the New Teſtament, in which we meet with the name of Luke, yet there are two places, in which it has been thought that St. Paul referred to him, viz.

(1.) That, Rom. xvi. 21. *Timotheus, my work-fellow, and Lucius, and Jaſon, and Soſipater, my kinſmen, ſalute you.* Some of the antients (as Origen [a] ſaith) *thought this Lucius to be Luke the Evangeliſt, who wrote the Goſpel; and that his name received this little alteration according to the peculiar idiom of the country.* Sixtus Senenſis ſeems to have been of the ſame opinion [b]; but this opinion ſeems evidently precarious, it being unaccountable that Paul ſhould call the ſame perſon by two ſuch different names.

(2.) The perſon intended by St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 18. in thoſe words, *We have ſent—the brother, whoſe praiſe is in the Goſpel, throughout all the Churches*, is ſuppoſed by moſt of the antient and modern writers to have been Luke the Evangeliſt. So Origen [c], Jerome [d], and the interpolator of the Epiſtles of Ignatius [e], among the antients; Sixtus Senenſis [f], Grotius [g],

[a] In Epiſt. ad Rom. xvi. 21. tom. 3. fol. 223. 'Sed et Lucium perhibent quidam eſſe Lucam, qui Evangelium ſcripſit, pro eo quod ſoleant nomina interdum ſecundum patriam declinationem, interdum etiam ſecundum Græcam Romanamque proferri.

[b] Bibl. Sanct. lib. 1. in Luc.

[c] Præfat. in Luc.

[d] Catalog. Vir. illuſtr. in Luc. Epiſt. ad Paulin. et Præf. in Com. in Matth.

[e] Epiſt. ad Epheſ. §. 15.

[f] Loc. jam cit.

[g] Annot. in 2 Cor. viii. 18.

Dr.

Dr. Hammond [a], Dr. Cave [b], Dr. Whitby [c], and many others; although Chryſoſtom, and ſome of the antients, followed herein by Calvin [d], and others, ſuppoſe that Barnabas was the perſon meant; and Dr. Lightfoot endeavours largely to prove it was neither, but Mark the Evangeliſt [e].

II. *The credible accounts which we have from antiquity, concerning this Evangeliſt*, are very ſhort and imperfect. I have collected what has fallen within my obſervation, under the following heads.

1. Many of the antients tell us, *that St. Luke was born at Antioch in Syria.* So Euſebius [f]; *He was of a family of Antioch.* Jerome [g]; *He was a phyſician of Antioch.* Dorotheus Tyrius [h], and Theophylact [i], &c. ſay the ſame. This tradition is ſo much the more probable, as it is certain that St. Luke was not a Jew; and this appears to me certain:

(1) Becauſe St. Luke, in his Hiſtory of the *Acts of the Apoſtles* (Ch. i. 19.), ſpeaking of the field, which was purchaſed with the money for which Judas ſold our Saviour, ſays, *it was called* Aceldama *ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν*: i. e. *in* THEIR *own language*; which plainly intimates, that the Syriack, or Syro-Chaldaick, i. e. the peculiar dialect of the Jews was not HIS language.

(2.) Becauſe St. Paul diſtinguiſhes him from thoſe who were of the circumciſion, Col. iv. 10, 11. compared with 14. He ſaith, that Marcus, Ariſtarchus, and Jeſus called Juſtus, were *the only fellow-labourers of the circumciſion who were with him*; yet it is plain that Epaphras, Demas, and Luke, were *fellow-labourers, that were then with him*; wherefore theſe were not of the circumciſion.

[a] Paraphr. ejuſdem loci.
[b] Life of St. Luke, §. 2. p. 223.
[c] In 2 Cor. viii. 18.
[d] In eund. loc.
[e] Harmon. of the New Teſt. year 56.
[f] Λουκᾶς δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 4.
[g] Catalog. Viror. illuſtr. in Luca, et Præfat. in Comment. ad Matth.
[h] In Synopſ.
[i] Præfat. in Luc.

(3.) It was an obſervation among the antients, as it has been among many more modern writers, *that St. Luke's Goſpel and Acts are written in very pure and elegant Greek.* He was well acquainted *with the Greek language, as appears by his writings,* ſays Jerome [a]; and in another place [b] he tells us, that *he was more ſkilful in the Greek language than any of the Evangeliſts, and would rather forbear tranſlating a Hebrew word, than do it in Greek, which was not pure and elegant.* Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis ſtiles him *learned in the Greek tongue* [c]; and among the moderns, to omit all others, Dr. Cave [d] has expreſſed the common opinion of learned men thus; "He "all along expreſſes himſelf in a vein of purer Greek, than is "to be found in the other writers of the holy ſtory. Indeed, "being born and bred at Antioch (than which no place more "famous for oratory and eloquence), he could not but carry "away a great ſhare of the native genius of that place, though "his ſtile is ſometimes allayed with a tang of the Syriack and "Hebrew dialect." All this proves St. Luke not to have been a Jew; and accordingly it was a commonly received tradition in the fifth or ſixth century, that he was a proſelyte to the Jewiſh religion, and ignorant of the Hebrew language, which (if we will credit Theophylact [e]) he afterwards went to Jeruſalem to learn.

2. It is conſtantly affirmed by the antients, that *St. Luke the Evangeliſt was a phyſician.* So we read in the places above-cited of Euſebius, Jerome, Dorotheus Tyrius, Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis, and many others; and I have above obſerved, that he ſeems to be the perſon whom Paul, Col. iv. 14. calls *the beloved Phyſician.* This (as Dr. Cave well obſerves [f]) does by no means prove the dignity of his birth and fortune; this art being in thoſe days generally managed by ſervants. Upon which account, Grotius [g] ſuppoſes Luke to have been brought a ſervant from Antioch to Rome, and there to have practiſed phyſick. Concerning his ſkill in painting, and the

[a] Catalog. Vir. illuſtr. in Luca.
[b] Epiſt. ad Damaſ.
[c] De vit. et obit. Sanctor. lib. 1. p. 599. Orthodoxogr. Vol. I.
[d] Life of St. Luke, §. 5.
[e] Præfat. in Luc.
[f] Life of St. Luke, §. 1.
[g] Annot. in Luc. 1.

ſeveral

ſeveral pictures which he drew of the Virgin Mary, ſo much talked of by the Papiſts, I ſhall ſay nothing, all this appearing to be the fiction of later ages. The firſt time I find any mention of it, is in the beginning of the ſixth century, when Theodore Lector tells us[a], that Eudocia, the wife of the Emperor Theodoſius Junior, ſent from her exile at Jeruſalem (about the year of Chriſt, 448) the image, or picture of the Virgin to Pulcheria, the Emperor's ſiſter, which was painted by Luke the Apoſtle. The Papiſts tell us of ſeveral of theſe at Rome and Conſtantinople, and ſurprizing miracles wrought by them. See Monſ. Durant de Ritibus Eccleſ. Cathol. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 35.

3. It is probable, *St. Luke was one of thoſe ſeventy diſciples, which our Saviour ſent forth*; Luke x. 1, *&c.* This is aſſerted by ſeveral of the primitive writers; ſo Origen[b], Epiphanius[c], Hippolitus[d], &c. and ſhould not, I think, without ſome cogent reaſons to the contrary, be rejected as falſe. I know indeed, that Dr. Cave[e], Du Pin[f], and others, have oppoſed the tradition; becauſe, in the beginning of his Goſpel, he ſays, he wrote not what he was an eye-witneſs of, and had ſeen, but that which he had learned from others. But to this I would reply;

That if we ſuppoſe St. Luke to have been one of the ſeventy diſciples, it does not thence follow, that he muſt needs be acquainted with, and have perſonally ſeen, all which he wrote concerning Chriſt. But on the contrary, the very ſuppoſition excludes him from a great deal of perſonal knowledge of Chriſt's actions, partly as the ſeventy were not choſen by Chriſt till the laſt year of his miniſtry, and partly as their being ſent abroad, neceſſarily prevented their perſonal knowledge of what Chriſt and his diſciples did, during that ſpace. St. Luke, therefore, might have been one of the ſeventy diſ-

[a] Collectan. lib. 1. ipſo initio.

[b] Dialog. de recta fide. *That dialogue has been queſtioned; and though Weſtenius contends for its genuineneſs, yet, I think, it is generally agreed not to belong to Origen.* Cave's Hiſt. Liter. Vol. 1. p. 84.

[c] Hæreſ. 51. §. 11.

[d] MS. in Bibl. Bodleian. apud Mill. Prolegom. in Luc.

[e] Life of Luke, §. 2.

[f] Hiſt. of Can. of New Teſt. Ch. 2. §. 5.

ciples of Chriſt, though he was not ſo long or ſo much with Chriſt, as to be able to write a hiſtory of Chriſt's life and actions from his own perſonal knowledge. This ſeems to me a much better ſolution of the difficulty, than that which Dr. Whitby has attempted, vainly endeavouring to prove, that *St. Luke's preface ſhews him to have been an eye-witneſs of all that he wrote*, than which nothing can be more repugnant to the plain conſtruction of the words [a].

4. *St. Luke was for a long time the conſtant companion of St. Paul in his travels, and his aſſiſtant in the work of the miniſtry.* This is proved both from the New Teſtament, and the Fathers. In the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, (xvi. 10, &c.) which book, at preſent I ſhall take for granted, was written by Luke, we find him accompanying St. Paul in his voyage from Troas to Macedonia; for he ſpeaks there in the firſt perſon plural, *Immediately* we *endeavoured to go into Macedonia*; and ver. 11. *Therefore loſing from Troas*, we *came with a ſtrait courſe*, &c. and ver. 13. *On the ſabbath* we *went out of the city, and* we *ſat down, and* we *ſpake to the women.* See ver. 16, 17, &c. The twentieth and twenty firſt chapters tell us of Luke's accompanying Paul to Jeruſalem, as the twenty ſeventh does of his going along with him to Rome; and accordingly St. Paul in ſeveral of his Epiſtles, written from Rome, mentions St. Luke, as being with him there. See the places above. Nothing is more commonly affirmed by the antients; as Irenæus [b], Euſebius [c], Jerome [d], Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis [e], &c. nor has it, that I know of, ever been queſtioned.

5. *St. Luke was acquainted with ſeveral of the Apoſtles.* This indeed ſeems neceſſarily to follow, from his having been one of the ſeventy diſciples, and the companion of St. Paul at Jeruſalem, and ſo many other places. Euſebius expreſsly tells us [f], *that he lived a long time with Paul, and was intimately acquainted with the reſt of the Apoſtles.* The ſame we find alſo in Dorotheus Tyrius [g].

[a] Præf. on Luke.
[b] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 14.
[c] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 4.
[d] Catalog. Vir. Illuſtr. in Luc.
[e] De vit. et obit. Sanctor. inter Orthodoxograph. Vol. I. p. 599.
[f] Loc. jam cit. Τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ ὡς παρέργως τῶν ἀποστόλων ὡμιληκώς.
[g] In Synopſ.

6. Epi-

6. Epiphanius ſays, that he preached the Goſpel in Dalmatia, France, Italy and Macedonia[a].

7. Concerning his death there is ſcarce any thing certain. Jerome[b] tells us, *that he lived eighty four years, never married, was buried at Conſtantinople, being brought thither* (viz. his bones and reliques, together with thoſe of the Apoſtle Andrew) *in the twentieth year of Conſtantius, from Achaia.* Dorotheus ſays[c], *he died and was buried at Epheſus, and that his reliques were brought, with thoſe of Timothy and Andrew, to Conſtantinople, in the time of Conſtantius.* Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis[d] alſo relates the account of *his bones being tranſlated to Conſtantinople*, but will have it to have been in the time of Conſtantine, not Conſtantius; and that he died in the ſeventy fourth year of his age, and was buried in Bithynia. Aldhelmus[e], an abbot of Malmſbury, in the year 680, tells us likewiſe that he lived to the age of ſeventy four, and then died in an unmarried ſtate, and that Conſtantine brought his bones to Conſtantinople. Concerning the manner of his death I have met with nothing, but that Nicephorus relates[f] his being hanged upon an olive-tree in Greece; and Hippolitus[g], that according to ſome, he was burnt, according to others, was crucified upon an olive-tree. Some later diſputes about St. Luke's body among the Papiſts, ſee in Spanheim. Hiſtor. Chriſt. Secul. xv. p. 1336. Hitherto concerning St. Luke.

[a] Hæreſ. 51. §. 11.
[b] Catalog. Vir. Illuſtr. in Luca.
[c] In Synopſ.
[d] De vit. et obit. Sanctor. inter Orthodoxograph. Vol. I. p. 599.
[e] De laudib. Virginit. inter Orthodoxograph. Vol. II. p. 1690.
[f] Lib. 2. c. 43. & D. Cave's Life of St. Luke, §. 3.
[g] MS. in Bibl. Bodleian. apud Mill. Procem. in Luc.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of St. Luke's Goſpel. It was wrote from the information of the Apoſtles, and other Eye-witneſſes of Chriſt's Actions. Alſo under the Direction and Approbation of St. Paul. The Deſign of it to confute the Apocryphal Goſpels. An Enquiry into the Time of its being written.

I PROCEED now to give *ſome account of that Goſpel* which we have under the name of St. Luke. Concerning which, I obſerve,

1. *That the Evangeliſt wrote it from the informations and relations of thoſe, who were eye-witneſſes of the things which it contains.* For though we cannot yet take his own teſtimony in the matter, (who ch. i. 2. ſaith, *he wrote the things, which were delivered unto him by thoſe, who from the beginning were eye-witneſſes and miniſters of the word)* yet there is ſo much other evidence of the truth of the fact, that it cannot with any reaſon be diſputed. Irenæus [a] ſaith, *that Luke has delivered to us, what the Apoſtles delivered to him.* This Tertullian calls *authenticam paraturam* [b]; i. e. *authentick intelligence, or ſufficient and credible informations, out of which he compiled his Goſpel.* Euſebius [c] teſtifies, *that he converſed intimately with the Apoſtles, and that he left the doctrines of curing ſouls, which he learned from them, in two divinely inſpired volumes.* To the ſame purpoſe with all theſe, Jerome ſaith, *that Luke wrote not only what he learnt from Paul, but the other Apoſtles* [d]. This tradition receives no ſmall confirmation from St. Luke's having been one of the ſeventy diſciples, and ſo much with St. Paul at Jeruſalem, and elſewhere, that it cannot without

[a] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 14. Ea quæ ab iis didicerat, tradidit nobis.
[b] Adv. Marcion. lib. 4. c. 2.
[c] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 4.
[d] Catalog. Vir. Illuſtr. in Luca. Non ſolum a Paulo didiciſſe Evangelium—ſed a cæteris Apoſtolis.

manifeſt

manifeſt abſurdity be ſuppoſed, that he knew none of the Apoſtles, or learnt nothing from them.

2. It is probable that *St. Luke's Goſpel was wrote under the direction, and publiſhed with the approbation of St. Paul.* Thus much at leaſt ſeems evident from the teſtimonies of Irenæus [a], who carries the matter ſo far as to aſſert, *that Luke compoſed his Goſpel out of what Paul preached*; of Tertullian, who adds [b], *that St. Luke's Goſpel was aſcribed to Paul as its author, for thoſe things may ſeem to be the maſter's, which the diſciples have publiſhed.* How much this was the opinion of the antients, will farther appear from this notion, which ſeems to have been common among them, that when Paul in any of his Epiſtles uſes the words, MY GOSPEL, (as he does Rom. ii. 16. 2 Tim. ii. 8.) he particularly meant this Goſpel of Luke. This was thought by ſeveral before Euſebius [c], and Jerome [d]; and though Mr. Fabricius [e] will not believe it to be ſo, yet it ſhews us clearly, that it was the common opinion of thoſe times, that St. Paul was concerned in publiſhing this Goſpel of St. Luke; to which I conceive alſo, that of Origen is to be referred, where he ſaith, that the Goſpel of Luke was ὑπὸ Παυλοῦ ἐπαινούμενον, i. e. *commended, or cited by Paul* [f]. But how much ſoever St. Paul was concerned in approving or directing the publication of this Goſpel, it is certainly a miſtake in Irenæus, and thoſe who have followed him, to ſuppoſe St. Luke wrote only what he heard Paul preach, becauſe himſelf ſaith, and I have above proved, that he wrote what thoſe who were eye-witneſſes delivered to him, of which number St. Paul was not. I therefore choſe rather to lay it down in my propoſition, that St. Paul approved or directed the publiſhing of this Goſpel, than that he dictated it.

3. *The particular view or deſign, which St. Luke had* in this Goſpel, ſeems to have been, *to confute them any ſilly Apocryphal*

[a] Καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο. Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 1. Græc. vid. ap. Euſ. H. E. lib. 5. c. 8.

[b] Nam et Lucæ digeſtum Paulo adſcribere ſolent. Adv. Marcion. lib. 4. c. 5.

[c] Loc. jam cit.

[d] Loc. jam cit.

[e] Cod. Apocr. Nov. Teſt. tom. 1. p. 372, &c.

[f] Apud Lucib. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.

Goſpels

Goſpels which were then extant, and to prevent the bad influence of them, and their heretical doctrines, upon the Chriſtian converts. This is what is ſo manifeſt from the firſt words of the Goſpel, and the univerſal voice of antiquity, that I need ſay no more, only ſhall refer the reader to the firſt Volume, Part I. Ch. II. p. 24. and the places there cited. Beſides this, which is allowed by all as the principal occaſion of St. Luke's writing his Goſpel, there have been other more particular reaſons gueſſed at by learned men. The two French criticks, Father Simon[a] and Du Pin[b], conjecture, that he wrote it *at the deſire of Theophilus*, to whom he dedicates it; Dr. Grabe[c] and Dr. Mill[d] ſuppoſe, *that St. Luke wrote it in Egypt, and with a particular deſign to confute the Goſpel of the Egyptians*, (of which above, Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XVI. &c.) but as the firſt of theſe ſeems but little to agree with the received notions of inſpiration, ſo the latter ſeems very improbable, becauſe we not only want any good evidence of St. Luke's having ever been in Egypt, but becauſe we find none of thoſe, which we know to have been the peculiar doctrines of the Egyptian Goſpel, ſo much as once referred to in this of St. Luke.

4. *The time or period in which this Goſpel was wrote, is very uncertain*, there being not (as far as I know) any monuments of antiquity, by which it can be fixed, or determined. The antients generally place the writing of this Goſpel after thoſe two of St. Matthew and St. Mark. In this order I find them ranged by Origen[e], Euſebius[f], Jerome[g], and many other writers of thoſe times; from whence it is plain, they were bound together in their volumes in the order which they are now; this, I think, can be no better way accounted for, than by ſuppoſing, that they did imagine them written in the ſame order; and accordingly they are placed in all the old

[a] Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part i. c. 12.

[b] Hiſt. of the Canon of the New Teſt. Vol. 2. c. 2. §. 5.

[c] Spicileg. Patr. Sæcul. I. p. 33, 34.

[d] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. §. 114.

[e] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.

[f] Lib. 3. c. 24.

[g] Præf. in Comment. in Matth.

manu-

manuſcripts, of which I have met with any account [a], except in that very antient manuſcript of Beza, now called *The Cambridge Manuſcript*, being given by Beza to that Univerſity. In this manuſcript, the order ſtands thus [b]; Matthew is placed firſt, then John, after him Luke, then Mark. It is certain, this was not the order in which the Evangeliſts wrote; and it is very probable the writer of this manuſcript intended to place firſt thoſe of the Evangeliſts who were Apoſtles, viz. Matthew and John, and then thoſe who were not, Luke and Mark; ſuppoſing perhaps, that as John wrote after Matthew, ſo Mark did after Luke. But according to the general opinion of the antients, Luke wrote after Mark; the particular time they have not determined. According to ſeveral old manuſcripts, St. Luke wrote his Goſpel fifteen years after the aſcenſion of Chriſt [c], viz. about the year 49, but this muſt certainly be a miſtake; for if he wrote after Mark, he muſt write after the year of Chriſt 63; i. e. above thirty years after our Saviour's aſcenſion; for I have above proved, that Mark did not write till after that time. Jerome informs us, that St. Luke wrote in the regions of Achaia and Bithynia [d]; and as his words are commonly underſtood by Grotius [e], Dr. Cave [f], Father Simon [g], and others, that he wrote it when he accompanied St. Paul into thoſe parts. If this be true, it was wrote about the year of Chriſt 52, or 53; but this is upon many accounts improbable; for, upon a cloſe obſervation of Jerome's words, I find they have hitherto been quite miſunderſtood; and it is evident,

1. That Jerome does not ſay that Luke wrote his Goſpel, while he was with Paul in Achaia and Bithynia; he only aſſerts, according to the common punctuation of the words, that he was a diſciple of Paul, and compoſed his Goſpel in Achaia and Bithynia; *Lucas—Diſcipulus Apoſtoli Pauli, in Achaiæ*

[a] See Father Simon's Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part i. c. 10.

[b] Vid. Bez. in Titul. Marc.

[c] See Father Simon in the place now cited, and the ſame aſſerted, as to ſeveral other manuſcripts, in Dr. Mill on the laſt verſe of Luke.

[d] Præf. in Comment. in Matth.

[e] Annot. in Titul. Luc.

[f] Life of St. Luke, §. 4.

[g] Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part i. c. 12. p. 102.

Bithy-

Bithyniæque (other copies read *Bœotiæque) partibus volumen condidit.*

2. The preſent punctuation of Jerome's words ſeems not to be right; for the comma, or diſtinction, ought rather to be put after the word *partibus*, than after the word *Pauli*; ſo that the ſenſe or conſtruction ſeems rather to be, that Luke was the diſciple of Paul in Achaia and Bithynia, and (afterwards) wrote his Goſpel; than that he was the diſciple of Paul, and wrote his Goſpel in Achaia and Bithynia.

For any thing therefore which has been yet ſaid to the contrary, it ſeems moſt probable, that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel after St. Mark's, *i. e.* after the year of Chriſt 63: and as it is very likely that he wrote it not long before the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, which muſt needs be written after the year of Chriſt 62, ſo it is probable he wrote them both at Rome after Paul's departure thence; for that he continued at Rome after Paul, at leaſt that he did not go away along with him is evident, becauſe his hiſtory ends at that period. There is indeed a paſſage, which I have obſerved in the old book of *Hypotypoſes*, under the name of Clemens Alexandrinus, cited by Euſebius (Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 14.), wherein it is aſſerted that St. Luke's Goſpel was written before St. Mark's, viz. προγεγραφθαι ἔλεγεν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας: *viz. That thoſe of the Goſpels were written firſt, which contain our Saviour's genealogies*; but this book of the *Hypotypoſes* not being wrote by Clemens, but the compoſure of ſome ſilly Heretick, (as I have proved, Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XXXVI. p. 373.) I think it needleſs to regard the teſtimony.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

St. Luke's Goſpel is Canonical. It is in the antient Catalogues, cited by the primitive Fathers, read in the Churches, and put in the Syriack Verſion.

Arg. I. ST. Luke's Goſpel is to be eſteemed of Canonical authority, by Prop. IV. becauſe *it is in all the Catalogues of Canonical books, which we have among the writings of the primitive Chriſtians.* Theſe Catalogues I have collected, Vol. I. Part I. Ch. VIII. and referred to, in proving the authority of Matthew and Mark's Goſpels above, viz. the Catalogue of Origen, Euſebius, Athanaſius, Cyril, that in the council of Laodicea, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Philaſtrius, Jerome, Ruffin, Auſtin, that in the third council of Carthage, and in the books under the name of Dionyſius the Areopagite. To which I add, the general proof I have above made in this Part (Diſſert. Præf.), that the four Goſpels which we now receive, were received by the primitive Chriſtians.

Arg. II. The Goſpel of St. Luke is Canonical, becauſe *it is cited as Scripture in the writings of the primitive Chriſtians*, Prop. V. I intend here, as in the former Goſpels, to ſhew the ſeveral authors who have cited, and the places wherein they have cited this Goſpel, and ſhall begin with,

I. St. PAUL.

It has been ſuppoſed by many of the antients (as I have obſerved above, Ch. XI.), that as often as St. Paul uſes the words MY GOSPEL, he cites and refers to St. Luke (ſee Rom. ii. 16. 2 Tim. ii. 8.). So many of the Chriſtians before the time of Euſebius [a] and Jerome [b] thought, and Origen

[a] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 4.

[b] Catalog. Vir. Illuſtr. in Luca.

expreſsly

expreſsly calls it the Goſpel ὑπὸ Παύλε ἐπαινούμενον, i. e. *commended or cited by Paul*[a]; but I confeſs, though I have mentioned this, it is not becauſe I believe St. Paul did cite this Goſpel (it being wrote, in my opinion, ſome years after the Epiſtle to the Romans, though perhaps not after that to Timothy), but becauſe it gives us clear intimation, how highly eſteemed this Goſpel was in the moſt antient times of Chriſtianity, being judged worthy by them to be cited by St. Paul, and called his own Goſpel.

II. CLEMENS ROMANUS.

St. LUKE's *Goſpel.*	*The firſt Epiſtle of* CLEMENS ROMANUS *to the* Corinthians.
1 Ch. vi. 36—39.	1 Chap. xiii. Several ſayings of our Lord are here referred to; ſome of which are in St. Matthew (as above ſaid), and ſome in St. Luke.
2 Ch. xvii. 1, 2.	2 Chap. xlvi. Cotelerius has obſerved upon this place, that Clemens not only cites Matthew, but Luke; and indeed the order of his words is more agreeable to this laſt.
	The ſecond Epiſtle of CLEMENS ROMANUS *to the* Corinthians.
3 Ch. xiii. 27.	3 Ch. iv. This ſeems to be rather taken out of Luke than Matthew, becauſe

[a] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6. c. 25.

St.

St. LUKE's *Goſpel.*	*The ſecond Epiſtle of* CLEMENS ROMANUS *to the* Corinthians.
3 Ch. xiii. 27.	of the words πόθεν ἐστέ, which are in Luke, and not in Matthew.
4 Ch. xvi. 26.	4 Ch. vi. It ſeems to be taken out of Luke, becauſe the words are the ſame.
5 Ch. xvi. 10, 12.	5 Ch. viii. See the Appendix to Vol. I. p. 416.

III. IGNATIUS.

That he has cited Luke xxiv. 39. in his Epiſtle to the Smyrneans, Chap. III. I have proved above, Vol. I. Part II. Chap. XXVII. p. 294.

IV. JUSTIN MARTYR.

St. LUKE's *Goſpel.*	JUSTIN MARTYR's *Works.*
1 Ch. i. 17.	1 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 268.
2 —— 32.	2 Apolog. 2. pro Chriſt. p. 75.
3 —— 35, 38.	3 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 327.
4 Ch. ii. 2.	4 Apolog. 2. pro Chriſt. p. 75.
5 Ch. x. 19.	5 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 301, 302.
6 —— 22.	6 —— p. 95, 96, 326.
7 Ch. xiii. 26, 27.	7 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 301.
8 Ch. xxii. 44.	8 —— p. 331.
9 Ch. xxiii. 46.	9 —— p. 333.

V. IRENÆUS.

St. Luke's Goſpel is ſo frequently cited by this Father, that it would be ſuperfluous to collect the citations; beſides Feuardentius has with ſo much exactneſs collected them at the end of his edition of Irenæus, that it will be ſufficient to refer the reader to his index. I ſhall only obſerve,

1. That there are *above a hundred citations* of this Goſpel made by Irenæus in his works.

2. That (Lib. 3. adv. Hæreſ. c. 14.) *he vindicates the authority and perfection of St. Luke's Goſpel*, and has made there a collection of many or moſt of the hiſtories which this Evangeliſt has recorded, which are not mentioned by either of the other, and ſays, *the Hiſtories of Chriſt, which St. Luke alone has recorded, were received by all Chriſtians* [a].

3. That he in very many places cites this Goſpel by the name of *Luke*, which the reader may ſee in the following inſtances.

St. LUKE's *Goſpel.*	IRENÆUS.
1 Luke iii. 23.	1 Lib. 2. c. 39.
2 —— iii. 4.	2 Lib. 3. c. 9.
3 —— i. 6, 8, 9, 15, 17, and a great part of that chapter.	3 —— c. 11.
4 Many places of this Goſpel.	4 —— c. 14.
5 —— iii. 24, &c.	5 —— c. 33.
6 —— iv. 5, 6.	6 Lib. 5. c. 21.

Many other ſuch inſtances might eaſily be collected; but I ſuppoſe theſe, with what has been ſaid above (*Diſſert. præfix.*) may be ſufficient to evidence to any one the ſentiments, which Irenæus had of this Goſpel.

[a] Et plurimos actus Domini per hanc (ſc. Lucam) didicimus, quibus et omnes utuntur.

VI.

VI. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

St. LUKE's *Goſpel.*	*The Works of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.
1 Ch. iii. 12, 13, 14.	1 Pædagog. Lib. 3. p. 261.
2 —— vi. 36.	2 Stromat. Lib. 2. p. 404.
3 —— 46.	3 —— Lib. 7. p. 766.
4 Ch. xii. 19.	4 Pædagog. Lib. 2. p. 210.
5 —— 20.	5 Stromat. Lib. 4. p. 487.
6 —— 36, 37.	6 Pædagog. Lib. 2. p. 185.
7 Ch. xiv. 8, 13, 16, &c.	7 —— p. 141.
8 —— 20.	8 Stromat. Lib. 3. p. 465.
9 —— 26.	9 —— p. 467.
10 Ch. xv. 1, &c.	10 Pædagog. Lib. 2. p. 144.
11 —— 7.	11 Stromat. Lib. 2. p. 390.
12 Ch. xvi. 19, &c. viz. the parable of the rich man and Lazarus.	12 This is referred to ſeveral times by Clemens, viz. Pædagog. Lib. 2. p. 199. Lib. 3. p. 234. et Stromat. Lib. 4. p. 486.
13 Ch. xviii. 8.	13 Stromat. Lib. 3. p. 447.
14 Ch. xix. 8.	14 —— Lib. 4. p. 488.
15 Ch. xxii. 31.	15 —— p. 503.
16 Ch. xxiv. 41.	16 Pædagog. Lib. 2. p. 148. In this laſt place Clemens has cited Luke by name.

Beſides theſe references to St. Luke, made by Clemens in his *Pædagogus* and *Stromata*, I have met with ſeveral others in that ſmall tract of his, intitled, *Quis Dives ſalvetur?* Theſe are as follow.

St. LUKE's *Goſpel.*	*The Treatiſe of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *intitled,* Quis Dives ſalvetur?
1 Ch. v. 29.	1 Cap. xiii. p. 34.
2 —— vi. 30.	2 —— xxxi. p. 86.

St. LUKE's *Goſpel.*	*The treatiſe of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *intitled*, Quis Dives ſalvetur?
3 Ch. x. 29—37.	3 Cap. xxviii. p. 77.
4 —— xii. 32.	4 —— xxxi. p. 82.
5 —— xiv. 26.	5 —— xxii. p. 61.
6 —— xv. 9, 10.	6 —— xxxix. p. 102.
7 —— xvi. 9.	7 —— xiii. p. 34.
8 —— xix. 5.	8 Ibid.

The citations out of this Goſpel in the works of Tertullian, Origen, Cyril, Cyprian, Ambroſe, Auſtin, Jerome, &c. are ſo very numerous, and ſo eaſy to be obſerved every where in their writings, that I ſhall omit making any collections out of them. Theſe, as the preceding Fathers, appeal always to this Goſpel as Scripture; and no wonder they ſhould, when they were aſſured it was, as Euſebius calls it, Θεόπνευστον Βιβλίον, *an inſpired book*. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 4.

Arg. III. The Goſpel of St. Luke is Canonical, becauſe *it was read as Scripture in the churches or aſſemblies of the primitive Chriſtians*, by Prop. VI. For the proof of the fact I muſt refer the reader to Part I. Ch. X. of this work, and what I have above ſaid, Ch. III. in this Part, concerning the reading of St. Matthew's Goſpel.

Arg. IV. St. Luke's Goſpel is Canonical, becauſe *it was eſteemed as ſuch by the Churches of Syria in or near the Apoſtles' time*; and accordingly by them in thoſe days tranſlated, and inſerted in their collection of ſacred books, Prop. XV.

Thus much concerning the Canonical authority of this Goſpel; nor have I any farther to add, but that as Marcion and his heretical followers had a different Goſpel of St. Luke, from that which we now receive, ſo theſe differences were all owing to the impudence of Marcion, who inſerted and left out what he thought convenient to ſerve his own purpoſes; which has largely been proved by Irenæus [a], Tertullian [b], and Epi-

[a] Adverſ. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 11, 12.

[b] Adv. Marcion. lib. 4. c. 3, &c.

phanius,

phanius [a], to whom I muſt refer the reader; and among later writers to Sixtus Senenſis [b], Father Simon [c], Du Pin [d], and Dr. Mill [e].

CHAP. XIII.

A Collection of all that is ſaid of St. John in the New Teſtament. The Hiſtory of his Life from the Antients. He ſettled in Aſia Minor. Suffered under Domitian. Was baniſhed to Patmos. Returned to Epheſus. A ſtory of him and Cerinthus. Another of him and a young Man. He raiſed the dead, &c. When and how he died. Joh. xxi. 21. *miſunderſtood by many of the Antients, who imagined thence, that he never died.*

FOR the clearer eſtabliſhment of the Canonical authority of this Goſpel, it will be requiſite that here, as in the former Goſpels, I ſhould firſt give ſome account of *the author*, and then of *his work*.

Concerning the author we have *ſome accounts in Scripture*, and ſome which are credible *in the primitive Chriſtian writings*. Each ſhall be diſtinctly conſidered.

I. The accounts which we have of St. John the Evangeliſt *in the writings of the New Teſtament*, are as follow; viz.

1. His *father's name* was Zebedee, a fiſherman by trade, and his mother's Salome [f].

2. He was *born in Galilee*, as is probable, becauſe there Chriſt found him, and called him [g] with his brother James.

3. He was conſtituted one of Chriſt's *firſt Apoſtles*, and ſent out with the Twelve [h].

[a] Hæreſ. 42.
[b] Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 7. de Luc. Evang.
[c] Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part I. c. 12.
[d] Hiſtor. of Canon, Vol. II. c. 2. §. 5.
[e] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. §. 306—328.
[f] Matt. iv. 21. xxvii. 56. compared with Mark xv. 40.
[g] Matt. iv. 21.
[h] Matt. x. 2.

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4. He ſeems to have been of a *very warm and zealous temper*. This I gather; (1.) Becauſe he is intitled by Chriſt, with his brother James, *Boanerges* [a], i. e. *Son of Thunder*. (2.) Becauſe he was for *forbidding a certain perſon any more to caſt out Devils in Chriſt's name*, becauſe HE did not follow them [b]. (3.) Becauſe he with his brother James *deſired to call down fire* (i. e. thunder or lightning) *from heaven, to conſume the Samaritans* [c]. (4.) Becauſe after Chriſt's aſcenſion, we find John with Peter was *the chief ſpeaker and actor in the defence and propagation of the Goſpel at Jeruſalem* [d].

5. He received *ſeveral particular inſtances and marks of our Saviour's favour, above moſt or all the Apoſtles*. Hence he has often the character given him of *that Diſciple whom Jeſus loved* [e]; and particular evidences hereof ſeem to be, (1.) That he *was admitted* with Peter and James *to be preſent at our Saviour's tranſfiguration* [f]. (2.) That *he was ſent* with Peter *to prepare the laſt paſſover* for our Saviour [g]. (3.) He was *placed in the moſt honourable ſeat at the ſupper*; he leaned on Jeſus's boſom, or lay on his breaſt [h]; i. e. he ſat in the next place to Chriſt; and as it was the cuſtom of thoſe countries then, to lie along on couches at meals, his head lay in the boſom of Chriſt, who ſat before him; (4.) *When Peter durſt not himſelf, he deſired John to aſk Chriſt*, who ſhould betray him; *which he did, and received an anſwer* [i]. (5.) *He alone, with his brother James and Peter, was admitted to the favour of our Lord's diſcourſe and devotion in the Mount of Olives* [k]. (6.) *Chriſt upon the Croſs appointed him the guardian of his mother, the Virgin Mary*, giving her inſtructions to own him as a ſon, and him to own her as a mother [l]: John accordingly took her to his home. (7.) *He was firſt favoured by Chriſt with the diſcovery of himſelf to him, at the ſea of Tiberias,*

[a] Mar. iii. 17.
[b] Mar. ix. 38. and Luke ix. 49.
[c] Luke ix. 54.
[d] Acts iii. 1, &c.
[e] John xiii. 23. xix. 26. xx. 2. xxi. 20.
[f] Matt. xvii. 1, &c. Luke ix. 28.
[g] Luke xxii. 8.
[h] John xiii. 23, 25.
[i] John xiii. 23—26.
[k] Matt. xxvi. 36. and Luke xxii. 39.
[l] John xix. 16, 17.

after

after his reſurrection[a]. (8.) The anſwer which Chriſt gave to Peter, relating to John, ſeems not a little to his honour, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee*[b]?

Beſides the above-mentioned, we have the following particulars concerning him; as (1.) That he with his brother James petitioned Chriſt to be advanced to high poſts in his (temporal) kingdom[c]: and though Matthew ſays, their mother preſented the petition for them[d]; yet ſeeing Mark ſo poſitively aſſerts their preſenting it themſelves, and both Matthew and Mark agree, that our Saviour directed his anſwer to the ſons, and not the mother, there can be no room to doubt but they were concerned therein. (2.) He was known to the High-Prieſt, attended our Saviour's trial, and procured introduction for Peter into the hall[e]. Though John be not named there, yet being ſpoke of as uſual in the third perſon, and it being certain that he afterwards attended Chriſt at his crucifixion[f], which we do not know that any other Apoſtle did, it is more than probable he was the perſon there intended. (3.) He ran with Peter to Chriſt's ſepulchre, on the firſt account of his reſurrection[g]. (4.) After Chriſt's aſcenſion he preached with Peter in the Temple, and healed the lame man, preached to the people[h], was apprehended of the Sadducees[i], impriſoned, and boldly pleaded in defence of Chriſtianity[k]. (5.) He was the deputy of the Apoſtles with Peter to go to Samaria, to confirm and enlarge the churches which were planted there[l]. And beſides this I find nothing related concerning him in the New Teſtament, except his being the author of three Epiſtles and the Revelation; of which in their proper places. There are indeed two other places of the Goſpel, in which John is ſuppoſed to be the perſon referred to, viz. that, John i. 35—40. where mention is made of two of John the Baptiſt's Diſciples who went to

[a] John xxi. 7.
[b] John xxi. 23.
[c] Mark x. 35.
[d] Matt. xx. 20.
[e] John xviii. 16.
[f] John xix. 26.
[g] John xx. 2, &c.
[h] Acts iii. 1, &c.
[i] Acts iv. 1, &c.
[k] Acts iv. per tot.
[l] Acts viii. 14, &c.

Chriſt; the one is ſaid to be Andrew, the other not named is ſuppoſed to be John our Evangeliſt, becauſe he particularly relates all the circumſtances of the hiſtory, and conceals his own name [a]; but this is by no means a ſufficient reaſon, eſpecially conſidering that John ſeems not to have known Chriſt till he was called, Matt. iv. 21. The other place is that, Mark xiv. 51, 52. where we read of a young man that followed Chriſt, when he was apprehended, having a linen cloth caſt about his naked body, which he left in the hands of thoſe who laid hold on him; this is ſuppoſed to be John by ſeveral of the antients, Chryſoſtom, Ambroſe, and Gregory [b], and Dr. Cave among the moderns [c]; but as there is no evidence offered to ſupport the conjecture, it cannot be unfair to reject it.

II. *The accounts which we have from the antients concerning St. John, are large.* I ſhall lay down what ſeems moſt remarkable.

It is generally agreed by the antients, that when the Apoſtles determined to go abroad to propagate the Goſpel, *St. John had Aſia Minor for his province.* This is atteſted by Polycrates [d], Irenæus [e], Euſebius [f], Dorotheus [g], and many others. I ſhall only obſerve, that *in the Life of this Apoſtle* [h], under the name of *Prochorus* (who was one of the ſeven deacons appointed by the Apoſtles, Acts vi. 5.), it is ſaid, that all the Apoſtles met at Gethſemane after Chriſt's aſcenſion, and having their ſeveral provinces determined by lot, Aſia fell to John; which, though he received at firſt with concern, he afterwards complied with. It is however very probable, that

[a] Vid. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 51. §. 14. Dr. Cave's Life of St. John, §. 1. and Dr. Whitby on John i. 40.

[b] Apud Whitby in Mar. xiv. 51.

[c] Lib. cit. §. 3.

[d] Epiſt. ad Victorem et Romanæ Urbis Eccleſiam de Paſchate, cujus fragmentum extat apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 24.

[e] Adverſ. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 11.

[f] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 1.

[g] In Synopſ.

[h] This book is printed in Greek and Latin among the Orthodoxographa, Vol. I. p. 85. but is juſtly rejected as ſpurious by Bellarmine (de Script. Eccleſ. in Prochoro), and many Papiſts, as by all Proteſtant writers. Cocus Cenſur. quorund. vet. Script. p. 13. Rivet. Critic. Sacr. lib. 1. c. 6. Cave Hiſtor. Liter. p. 23. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. t. 2. p. 817.

St.

St. John did not till a long time after Chriſt's aſcenſion enter upon his charge; becauſe, as Dr. Cave [a] well obſerves, had he been in Aſia early, we muſt needs have heard of him in the accounts which St. Luke gives of St. Paul's ſeveral journies into, and reſidence in, thoſe parts; it is therefore moſt likely he ſtaid for a long time after our Saviour's aſcent at Jeruſalem. The next thing we read of St. John, is his *being a ſufferer in the ſecond general perſecution under Domitian at Rome, where he was caſt into a caldron of boiling oil, but miraculouſly preſerved, and the fire had no influence upon him.* This is related by Tertullian [b], and by no one elſe except Jerome, who ſays he tranſcribed it from him [c]; and, if it be true [d], happened in the fourteenth year of Domitian, i. e. about the year of Chriſt 96. So we read expreſsly in Euſebius's Chronicon and Jerome [e]. After this the *Apoſtle was by the ſame Emperor baniſhed to a deſolate iſland in the ſouth-eaſt part of the Egean Sea, called Patmos* [f]. So we are informed by Tertullian [g], Euſebius [h], Jerome [i], Severus Sulpitius [k], &c. though Dorotheus Tyrius ſeems to have believed that this baniſhment was by Trajan, and not Domitian [l], which is certainly a miſtake. In this exile-ſtate, it is ſaid St. John was ſuitably comforted and ſupported with the *viſions and revelations from God*, which he afterwards publiſhed; ſee Irenæus [m], Euſebius [n], Jerome [o], Severus Sulpitius [p], and Auſtin [q]. The ſecond gene-

[a] Life of St. John, §. 4.

[b] De Præſcript. adv. Hæretic. cap. 36. Ap ſtolus Joannes, poſtea quam in oleum ignitum demerſus nihil paſſus eſt, in inſulam relegatur.

[c] Lib. 1. contr. Jovin. c. 14. et in Matth. xx. apud Cleric. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 508.

[d] However good Tertullian's credit may be, yet the ſtory cannot but appear dubious, when we conſider that ſo remarkable a fact fell only within the obſervation of one ſingle writer.

[e] Catalog. Vir. Illuſtr. in Joanne.

[f] According to ſome it was reckoned among the iſlands called Cyclades, according to others among thoſe called Sporades. Vid. Plin. lib. 4. c. 12. Dionyſ. Periegeſ. v. 530. et Gulielm. Hill Not. in loc. p. 134.

[g] De Præſcript. adv. Hæretic. c. 36.

[h] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 18.

[i] Loc. jam cit.

[k] Hiſtor. Sacr. lib. 2. p. 535. inter Orthodoxograph. Vol. I. Gryneus, the editor, inſtead of Severus Sulpitius, calls him by miſtake Sulpitius Severus. See Dr. Cave's Hiſt. Litter. tom. 1. p. 284.

[l] In Synopſ.

[m] Adverſ. Hereſ. lib. 5. c. 30.

[n] Loc. jam cit.

[o] Loc. jam cit.

[p] Loc. jam cit.

[q] Quæſt. ex Nov. Teſt. §. 72.

ral

ral perſecution ended with Domitian; and times more favourable to Chriſtianity ſucceeding, St. John had an opportunity to return to his former friends at Epheſus, which, as it was the place of his former abode in Aſia, ſo became now his ſettlement for life. Here he acted the part of a Chriſtian Biſhop or Miniſter, and together with ſeven other Biſhops preſided over that dioceſe, if we may credit the author of the book intitled Μαρτύριον Τιμοθέου; i. e. *The Martyrdom of Timothy* [a].

The other accounts which I have met with concerning St. John, cannot be reduced to any certain order of time: Dr. Cave and Du Pin have collected them already; for which reaſon I ſhall but juſt name them, in the order in which the ſeveral authors lived, who have mentioned them.

IRENÆUS [b] informs us, there were ſome in his time who had the following account from Polycarp, who was one of John's diſciples, viz. "That St. John going to a certain "bath at Epheſus, and perceiving that Cerinthus, that noted "arch-heretick, was in the bath, immediately leaped out "without bathing himſelf, and ſaid, *Let us go hence, leſt the "bath ſhould fall down upon us, having in it ſuch an heretick "as Cerinthus, that enemy of truth.*" What the hereſy of Cerinthus was may be largely ſeen in Irenæus [c], Epiphanius [d], and many of the antients. Some account of his principles is given above, Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XII.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS concludes his treatiſe, intitled, *Quis Dives ſalvetur* [e]? with a remarkable hiſtory, which moſt of our Eccleſiaſtical writers have taken notice of. I ſhall recite it therefore briefly, viz. "That when St. John was re-"turned from his exile in Patmos to Epheſus, he viſited the "neighbouring churches, and obſerving in one of the cities a

[a] Apud Phot. Cod. 254. This book goes under the name of Polycrates of Epheſus, a writer of the ſecond century, but is rejected as ſpurious by Dr. Cave, Hiſt. Liter. p. 60. and Fabricius Cod. Apocr. Nov. Teſt. p. 812.

[b] Adverſ. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 3. et in Euſeb. lib. 4. c. 14.

[c] Lib. 3. paſſim.

[d] Hæreſ. 28.

[e] It was publiſhed 1683, at Oxford, by Biſhop Fell.

a young

" young man of an uncommon genius and handſome body, he " commended him in the preſence of the Church to the care " of the Biſhop [a] of the place, who, taking the charge of him, " inſtructed and baptized him; at length giving him his li- " berty, he fell into the worſt of company, and entered into a " ſtrict alliance with ſome perſons, who were not only in " other reſpects debauched in their morals, but notorious " robbers, of whom he became the captain, and led them in " all their acts of murder, robbery, &c. Some time after St. " John's occaſions calling him to this city, he enquired after " the young man. The Biſhop with concern replied, he was " dead, meaning he was dead to God, and joined to a band of " villains and robbers. Upon which St. John took a horſe " and guide, came to the place where the robbers were, and " being ſeized by their centinels, he deſired to be brought to " their captain, who, when he ſaw him, fled through ſhame; " but St. John purſued him, deſiring him not to fly, and pro- " miſing him pardon from Chriſt, by whom he ſaid he was " ſent; upon this he ſtaid, and in the greateſt diſtreſs threw " down his arms, and embracing the Apoſtle, he groaned, " and floods of tears poured down from his eyes. Upon " which St. John, aſſuring him of pardon, prayed for him, " and brought him back to the Church."

APOLLONIUS, a writer in the ſecond century againſt the Montaniſts, tells us [b], that *he raiſed a dead perſon to life.* This I find no where elſe related, unleſs that ſhould be thought to be the ſame, which I obſerve in Iſidore Hiſpalenſis [c], concerning *his raiſing a widow from the dead* by the command of the people, or *his reſtoring and bringing a young man's ſoul into his body again*, related in the ſame place.

[a] I cannot but obſerve here, that when Clemens delivers the young man to his charge, he calls him Ἐπίσκοπον, and a few lines after, when he ſpeaks of the care which he took of him, he calls him Ἡγεσάμενος· an undeniable demonſtration, that *Presbyter* and *Biſhop* were two names of one perſon in the time of Clemens Alexandrinus.

[b] Lib. contr. Cataphryg. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 5. c. 18.

[c] Loc. ſupr. cit.

POLYCRATES,

POLYCRATES, a writer of the ſame time, makes *St. John to be a prieſt, and as ſuch to have worn a* Πέταλον, *or plate* [a]. Jerome, citing this of Polycrates, paraphraſes it thus [b]; *Pontifex ejus (ſcil. Chriſti) fuit, auream laminam in fronte portans*; i. e. "He was High-prieſt of Chriſt, and wore a golden plate "on his forehead." This is ſaid alſo of James, Biſhop of Jeruſalem, by Epiphanius [c], who cites Clemens and Euſebius for the truth of it; and, if it be true, is well accounted for by Valeſius [d], who ſuppoſes thoſe firſt Chriſtians to have done it in imitation of the Jewiſh High-prieſts.

TERTULLIAN informs us, that St. John convicted an Aſiatick preſbyter of forging and publiſhing *the Acts of Paul and Thecla*, under the name of Paul [e]. See the place at large above, Part III. Ch. XXXIV. p. 387.

The time, place, and manner of St. John's death, are very differently related by the antients. Irenæus affirms [f], that *he continued till the reign of the Emperor Trajan*; and elſewhere [g], that *he preſided over the Church of Epheſus till that time.* Irenæus was followed in this opinion by moſt of the antients. Euſebius makes St. John's exit to have been in the third year of Trajan [h]; and agreeably thereto, Jerome [i] places it in the ſixty-eighth year after Chriſt's death, which coincides with the third year of Trajan, and the hundred and firſt, or hundred and ſecond year after our Saviour's nativity. That St. John did live till this reign, I find alſo aſſerted in the antient book, of which we have an abſtract in Photius [k], which is intitled, *The Martyrdom of Timothy*, in Iſidore Hiſpalenſis's *Treatiſe of the Lives and Deaths of the Prophets and Apoſtles* [l], and in the *Synopſis* of Dorotheus [m], though he make St. John to have

[a] Epiſt. ad Victor. pt Eccleſ. Roman. apud Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 24.
[b] Catalog. Vir. Illuſtr. in Polycrat.
[c] Hæreſ. 29. §. 4. et Hæreſ. 78. §. 14.
[d] Annot. in Loc. Euſeb. denuo cit.
[e] Lib. de Baptiſm. c. 17.
[f] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 2. c. 39.
[g] Lib. 3. c. 3.
[h] In Chronic. ad Ann. CIII.
[i] Catal. Vir. Illuſtr. in Joanne.
[k] Cod. CCLIV.
[l] Inter Orthodoxogr. Vol. I. p. 598.
[m] Edit. Latin.

lived

lived to the age of an hundred and twenty; which, if it were certain, would prove that he died not in the beginning, but in the end of Trajan's reign, if not rather in the reign of Adrian [a]. He that would read more of the time of St. John's death, may conſult Mr. Dodwell [b].

It is impoſſible to ſay any thing certain concerning the manner of St. John's death. Polycrates [c] ſays, he *died a martyr at Epheſus*, as do ſome other of the antients, viz. Chryſoſtom [d], and Theophylact [e], his conſtant follower. Whether the later writers, who have aſſerted St. John's martyrdom, were induced to that opinion, only by ſuppoſing that thoſe words of Chriſt, Matt. xx. 23. to John and James, implied their violent death, viz. *Ye ſhall drink indeed of my cup, and be baptized with the baptiſm that I am baptized with*, &c. I ſhall not determine. To me the fact ſeems probable, not only from the teſtimony of Polycrates, but becauſe all the reſt of the Apoſtles did ſuffer martyrdom, and the text ſeems not obſcurely to imply it.

The miſtaken judgment of the Apoſtles, that John ſhould never die, founded upon thoſe words of our Saviour, John xxi. 21, &c. *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* led many of the antients alſo into a perſuaſion, that St. John did never die. St. Auſtin [f] has largely diſcuſſed the queſtion, and tells us of an opinion of ſome, founded upon ſome Apocryphal Scriptures, viz. That St. John in perfect health ordered his grave to be made, and then laid himſelf down in it, as in a bed, and died. Others ſay, he did not then die, but only lay down aſleep like a perſon dead; and in this ſtate of ſleep, not death, he will continue till Chriſt come: that he is not dead, ſays he, they prove by the motion of the grave duſt, which is continually occaſioned to boil and bubble by the motion of his breaſt. This opinion, ſays St. Auſtin, I

[a] It being reaſonable to ſuppoſe John, when he was called to the work of the miniſtry, was not under the age of Chriſt, i. e. not under his thirtieth year, none undertaking that office earlier.

[b] Addit. ad Pearſon. Diſſert. 2. de Succeſſ. Rom. Epiſc. c. 5.

[c] Epiſt. ad Victor. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 24.

[d] Hom. 1. 66. in Matth.

[e] In Matth. xx. 23.

[f] Tract. 124. in Joann.

will

will not oppoſe; for I have been informed of the fact from grave and credible witneſſes. Iſidore Hiſpalenſis [a] relates the ſame ſtory, with ſeveral other particular circumſtances, too trifling to be mentioned. Ephraim Theopolitanus, Biſhop of Antioch, about the year of Chriſt, 510 [b], endeavours to prove, that St. John never died, but was tranſlated, as Enoch and Elijah. I will add no more, but that the ſame opinion ſeems to have been received in the ſeveral ſucceeding ages of Chriſtianity. Georgius Trapezuntius, a learned writer, though late, has wrote five whole treatiſes, which he dedicates to the Pope, with deſign to prove that St. John never did die. I ſhall think it ſufficient to refer the reader to the ingenious tract [c]. Hence it came to paſs, that ſeveral impoſtors have profeſſed themſelves to be this Apoſtle; one particularly in the time of Martinus, about the year 400 [d], and another in Queen Elizabeth's time, who was afterwards burnt at Thouloufe in France, as we are told by Beza [e].

CHAP. XIV.

St. John's Goſpel wrote againſt the Hereticks, viz. the Cerinthians and Ebionites, who denied our Saviour's Divinity; as alſo to enlarge the Goſpel Hiſtory. It was wrote after the year of Chriſt XCVII. *An Objection to this anſwered. Other miſcellaneous Remarks.*

CONCERNING St. John's Goſpel, whatever appears to me conſiderable, I ſhall lay down in the following obſervations.

[a] De vit. et obit. Prophet. et Sanctor. inter Orthodox. Vol. I. p. 598.

[b] Reſponſ. ad Anatol. Scholaſt. Quæſt. apud Phot. Cod. 229.

[c] Inter Orthodoxogr. Vol. II. p. 1231.

[d] Vid. Sever. Sulpit. de vita Martin. inter Orthodoxogr. Vol. I. p. 556.

[e] Annot. in Joann. xxi. 21.

I. St.

I. St. John ſeems to have had two particular deſigns in the writing of his Goſpel, viz. *the confuting of certain Hereticks, and ſupplying the defects of the hiſtory of Chriſt in the other Goſpels.*

1. St. John wrote his Goſpel with *the intent, or deſign, of confuting certain Hereticks of that early age, who denied the divinity of our Saviour.* This is largely atteſted by the antients. Irenæus tells us, "[a] That the Evangeliſt deſigned by "his Goſpel to confute the errors, which Cerinthus had in-"fuſed into the minds of the people, and had been infuſed by "thoſe who were called Nicolaitans; and to convince them, "that there was one God, who made all things by his WORD, "and not, as they imagined, ONE who was the Creator, and "ANOTHER who was the Father of the Lord (Jeſus); ONE "who was the Son of the Creator, and ANOTHER who was "the Chriſt, who continued impaſſible, and deſcended upon "Jeſus the Son of the Creator, &c." Epiphanius proves, St. John's Goſpel could not be written by Cerinthus, becauſe *it was wrote againſt him*[b]. Jerome is moſt particular, and informs us[c], "That when St. John was in Aſia, where then "aroſe the Hereſies of Ebion and Cerinthus, and others, who "denied that Chriſt was come in the fleſh, i. e. denied his di-"vine nature, whom he in his Epiſtle calls Antichriſts, and "St. Paul frequently condemns in his Epiſtles, he was forced "by almoſt all the Biſhops of Aſia, and the deputations of "many other churches, to write more plainly concerning the "divinity of our Saviour, and to ſoar aloft in a diſcourſe on "the WORD, not more bold than happy." Whence we are told in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that when he was ſolicited by the brethren to write, he anſwered, he would not do it, unleſs a publick day of faſting and prayer was appointed to implore God's aſſiſtance; which being done, and the ſolemnity being honoured with a ſatisfactory revelation from God, he broke forth into thoſe words, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God*, &c. To the ſame purpoſe Auſtin[d] ſaith,

[a] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 11.
[b] Hæreſ. 51. §. 4. & 12.
[c] Præfat. in Comment. in Matt. See the ſame. Catal. Vir. Illuſt. in Joann.
[d] Præf. in Tract. in Joann.

this

this Evangeliſt wrote concerning the co-eternal divinity of Chriſt againſt the Hereticks; and the ſame Father has in ſeveral places obſerved, that he above the reſt of the Apoſtles has aſſerted Chriſt's equality with the Father; and while they are content to give an account of Chriſt's miracles and moral precepts, he rather choſe to relate thoſe things which pertained to our Saviour's divinity[a].

2. St. John wrote his Goſpel with intent to *ſupply the defects of our Saviour's hiſtory in the other three Goſpels*; for whereas they ſay little of that part of our Saviour's life, which preceded the impriſonment of *John the Baptiſt*, he has inſerted it in his Goſpel. This is related by Euſebius[b], Jerome[c], &c. though the author of the antient book of *Hypotypoſes*, under the name of Clemens Alexandrinus[d], aſſigns this reaſon ſomewhat differently, viz. John obſerving that in the other Goſpels τὰ σωματικὰ—διῄρηται, i. e. *The things pertaining to our Lord's human nature were wrote*; he, *inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt*, at the requeſt of his friends, compoſed πνευματικὸν εὐαγγέλιον, i. e. *a ſpiritual Goſpel*, or *an account of our Saviour's divinity*. To the ſame purpoſe we read in Epiphanius[e], that the other Goſpels had ſo fully related the affair of Chriſt's incarnation, and the things which he did as incarnate, that he judged it needleſs to write the ſame, and therefore wrote his Goſpel againſt Ebion, Cerinthus, Marcion, &c. who affirmed, that Chriſt had no being before he was born of Mary.

II. St. John's Goſpel ſeems to have been written about the year of Chriſt, XCVIII.

[a] Loc. cit. & de Conſenſ. Evang. l. 1. c. 4.

[b] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 24. *See the place at large above in this Part, in the previous Diſſertation.*

[c] Aliam cauſam hujus ſcripturæ ferunt, quod quum legiſſet Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ volumina, probaverit quidem textum hiſtoriæ, et vera eos dixiſſe firmaverit, ſed unius tantum anni (*This was a common, but unaccountable miſtake of the antients, that the three other Evangeliſts relate only the hiſtory of Chriſt for one year*), in quo et paſſus eſt, poſt carcerem Joannis hiſtoriam texuiſſe. Prætermiſſo itaque anno, cujus acta a tribus expoſita fuerant, ſuperioris temporis, antequam Joannes clauderetur in carcerem, geſta narravit. Catal. Vir. Illuſtr. in Joann.

[d] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 14.

[e] Hæreſ. 51. §. 12.

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The moſt antient Chriſtians have fixed no time of its writing. Irenæus only ſaith, *that it was wrote at Epheſus, during his abode there*[a]; but whether it was before his baniſhment from thence by Domitian to Patmos, or after, he ſaith not. It is upon many accounts moſt probable, that it was written after his return. Epiphanius expreſsly aſſerts, *that he wrote it in his ninetieth year, after his return from Patmos to Epheſus*[b]; though I know not by what ſtrange ſort of miſtake, he makes it to have been in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, inſtead of the reign of Nerva, or Trajan; between the firſt of which and Claudius there intervened the reigns of ſeven ſeveral Emperors, viz. Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian. It is plain therefore, St. John did not write his Goſpel before the reign of Nerva, i. e. not before the year of Chriſt, XCVII. for ſooner he could not return from Patmos; but whether he wrote it in that year immediately after his return, or ſome time later, I ſhall not enquire. This is, I think, the moſt received opinion about the time of St. John's writing his Goſpel; nor is there any conſiderable difference between the later Fathers and Epiphanius on this head. The author of the Martyrdom of Timothy (if I underſtand his words right), aſſerts the ſame as Epiphanius, viz. that he wrote it after his return from Patmos to Epheſus[c]; and ſo does Iſidore Hiſpalenſis[d]. Dorotheus differs only, in ſaying, that he wrote it during his exile-ſtate in Patmos, and publiſhed it afterwards by Gaius at Epheſus[e]; and this is only one year's difference. There are indeed ſome manuſcripts[f], and later writers, as Theophylact[g], &c. who *will have this Goſpel written much ſooner*, viz. about the year of Chriſt, LXV. viz. thirty two years after our Saviour's aſcenſion; but the authority of theſe is ſo ſmall in reſpect of thoſe above-mentioned, that I need ſay no more, had not Mr. Whiſton fallen in with their opinion[h]. He of-

[a] Joannes diſcipulus Domini edidit Evangelium Epheſi Aſiæ commorans. Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 1.

[b] Loc. jam cit.

[c] Apud Phot. Cod. CCLIV.

[d] Inter Orthodoxogr. Vol. I. p. 598.

[e] In Synopſ.

[f] Vid. Mill. in Calc. Joan.

[g] Præf. in Joan.

[h] Eſſay on the Conſtit. p. 19. See concerning the time of St. John's writing his Goſpel, Daillæum de Script. Dionyſ. Areopag. &c. l. 1. c. 16.—p. 102, &c.

fers indeed ſeveral reaſons for it, in which I cannot ſee the leaſt ſhew of evidence: the bare propoſing them would be a ſufficient confutation of them. The moſt conſiderable of them is the fourth, viz. that John, c. v. ver. 2. *ſpeaks of the pool of Bethesda* in the *preſent tenſe*, there IS at Jeruſalem, and not there WAS, which better agrees to the time he aſſigns (as he imagines) *before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, when that pool and porch were certainly in being, than to the time afterward, when probably both were deſtroyed.* Dr. Whitby[a], ſeveral years before Mr. Whiſton, obſerved and ſubmitted (though at the expence of a contradiction to what he[b] ſeemed elſewhere to aſſert) to the force of this argument; "If, ſays he, "ἐστὶ δὲ, THERE IS, be the true reading, as the conſent of almoſt "all the Greek copies argues; it ſeems to intimate that Jeru-"ſalem and this pool were then ſtanding, when St. John "wrote this Goſpel; and therefore, that it was written, as "Theophylact and others ſay, before the deſtruction of Jeru-"ſalem, and not, as the more antient Fathers thought, long "after."

To this I anſwer;

(1.) That unleſs *John had certainly known* the deſtruction of this particular place at Jeruſalem, *it was more proper* for him to ſpeak *in the preſent time*, as ſuppoſing it ſtill ſtanding, than in the paſt time, aſſerting what he knew not. And indeed, who can ſuppoſe that John, at the diſtance which Epheſus was from Jeruſalem, ſhould be particularly informed of the deſtruction of every particular place in the city?

(2.) That in all probability *the pool was not filled up, but ſtill in the ſame ſtate after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, as before.* Pools were of great ſervice, and as it probably could anſwer no end for the conquerors to deſtroy it, ſo it would be a prodigious work to fill it up, eſpecially if the accounts, which we have of the ſeveral ſtreams that fed it, may be depended upon[c]. Add to this, that Tertullian[d] ſays, this pool loſt its virtue after Chriſt's time, undoubtedly referring to times after

[a] Annot. in loc.
[b] Pref. to John.
[c] See Dr. Lightfoot, Chorogr. Enquiry prefixed to his Exercitations on John, ch. 5.
[d] Adv. Jud. cap. 13.

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the destruction of the city, which supposes the pool still standing.

(3.) Suppose the pool was destroyed, and John to have known it, *there is no impropriety in using the verb* ἐστὶ, nothing being more common among writers, than to use verbs in the present tense to denote the preterperfect tense. This is especially remarkable in, and observed by all the criticks on, the New Testament. See instances in Glassius, Gram. Sacr. l. 3. Tract. 3. Can. 48.

(4.) Several of the antient manuscripts and versions read the verb in the past time. (See Dr. Mill Annot. in loc.) and so Nonnus paraphrases the place,

Ἦν δέ τις εὐποίητος ἐν εὐύδρῳ προβατικῇ
Εὐρυτενὴς ἀσάμινθος———

III. St. John's Gospel *was translated into Hebrew.* The credit of this depends upon what we read in Epiphanius, in the three several places referred to at the bottom of the page[a].

IV. St. John's Gospel *was admired by the Platonists. Amelius*[b] *swore, the Barbarian* (so the Grecians called all but themselves) *was in the right in his account of the* WORD, *&c.* and Austin tells us, *he was informed by Simplicianus, Bishop of Milan, that a certain Platonist said,* the beginning of St. John's Gospel deserved to be written in letters of gold, and to be read in all publick assemblies[c].

V. *The style* of St. John's Gospel was judged by Dionysius Alexandrinus[d], *to be elegant and pure in respect of the Greek, and the whole composure to be beautiful in words and thoughts, without any barbarisms, solecisms, or idiotisms in it, the author being endowed both with the advantage of learning, and words, or eloquence.* Some of the moderns have very positively determined otherwise; Grotius[e] and Dr. Cave[f] have

[a] Hæres. 30. §. 3, 6, 12.
[b] Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 11. p. 540. See Dr. Cave's Life of St. John, §. 15.
[c] De Civit. Dei, lib. 10. c. 29.
[d] Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 25.
[e] Annot. in Joan. Titul.
[f] Lib. cit. §. 16.

 told

told us, one after the other, *That his Greek generally abounds with Syriaciſms, his diſcourſes many times abrupt, ſet off with frequent antitheſes, connected with copulatives, paſſages often repeated, things at firſt more obſcurely propounded, and which he is forced to enlighten with ſubſequent explications, words peculiar to himſelf, and phraſes uſed in an uncommon ſenſe.* How juſt this is, I ſhall leave to the reader to determine, only adding a remark of Sixtus Senenſis [a], That St. John had this peculiarity in his ſtyle, to make *the laſt word of the former ſentence, to be the firſt of the next* [b].

CHAP. XV.

St. John's Goſpel proved by ſeveral Arguments to be Canonical. An Objection againſt it refuted. It was not wrote by Cerinthus.

THAT which remains farther, is to evidence the Canonical authority of St. John's Goſpel, by the Propoſitions which are laid down in the firſt Part, viz.

Arg. I. St. John's Goſpel is to be eſteemed Canonical by Prop. IV. becauſe *it is found in all the Catalogues of Sacred books, which we have among the writings of the primitive Chriſtians.* See what is ſaid under this argument in treating of the preceding Goſpels, and how it is in the Catalogue of Origen, Euſebius, Athanaſius, Cyril, that of the council of Laodicea, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Philaſtrius, Jerome, Ruffin, Auſtin, that in the third council of Carthage, and in the books under the name of Dionyſius the Areopagite. Vol. I. Part I. Ch. VIII.

[a] Bibl. Sanct. lib. 6. Annot. 173.

[b] See Vol. I. of this work, Part I. Ch. XII. p. 80.

Arg.

Arg. II. The Goſpel of St. John is Canonical, becauſe *it is cited and appealed to as Scripture, in the writings of the primitive Chriſtians*, by Prop. V.

I ſhall here, as in treating of the former books, ſhew the ſeveral places of thoſe antient authors, who have cited this Goſpel. It is cited;

I. By CLEMENS ROMANUS.

I find but one place in his Epiſtles, wherein he appears to have cited St. John, viz. Epiſt. I. §. 49. he manifeſtly uſes thoſe words of this Goſpel, Ch. x. 15.

II. By BARNABAS.

The author of this Epiſtle ſeems plainly to have made uſe of this Goſpel, Ch. VII. for he there not only mentions the circumſtance of our Saviour's *being pierced at his crucifixion*, which is related only by St. John, (xix. 34.) but manifeſtly applies that prophecy, Zech. xii. 10. *And they ſhall look upon me whom they have pierced*, to this circumſtance of Chriſt's paſſion; as St. John alſo does, ver. 37. What ſtrengthens and ſeems to render this evidence undeniable is, that the author cannot be ſuppoſed to have thus applied the prophecy from his own reading of it in the prophet; for he, not being a Jew, underſtood not the Hebrew, but muſt be ſuppoſed to have cited (as he uſually does) out of the LXX. Verſion. Now the LXX. have rendered this place very different from the Hebrew, and that through a blunder or miſtake in their reading, confounding ד with ר and ו with ד in one and the ſame word, reading, viz. רקרו inſtead of דקרו, and ſo tranſlating κατωρχήσαντο, *they inſulted*, inſtead of ωρυξαν, *they pierced*; as St. John following the Hebrew does rightly tranſlate. This obſervation of the LXX.'s miſtake, was firſt made by Jerome [a], and after him by Eraſmus, Beza, Lightfoot, Hammond,

[a] Ad Pammach. de optimo Genere Interpret. c. 3. An inſtance of a like miſtake committed by the LXX. the learned may obſerve, Amos ix. 12. where inſtead of the Hebrew words, שארית אדום i. e. *that they may poſſeſs the remnant of Edom*, the

mond, and other critics on John xix. 37. Hence it is plain, that the author of this Epiſtle did certainly uſe St. John's Goſpel; and what is farther remarkable to my purpoſe, uſes the very ſame verb [a]. I am ſenſible indeed, that ſome of the old Greek copies have theſe words, as St. John; but it is plain from Jerome, that it was not ſo in the old LXX. and if it was ſo in the Verſions of Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion, theſe were made after the time, in which the author of this Epiſtle is ſuppoſed to have wrote.

III. By IGNATIUS.

St. JOHN's *Goſpel.*	*The leſſer Epiſtles of* IGNATIUS.
1 Ch. v. 19, 30. and viii. 28.	1 Epiſt. ad Magneſ. ch. vii.
2 Ch. i. 1, &c.	2 —— ch. viii.
3 Ch. xii. 31. xiv. 30. xvi. 11. viz. the title given Satan, *The prince of this world.*	3 —— ad Roman. ch. vii. Ἀρχῶν τῦ αἰῶνος τέτυ.

IV. By JUSTIN MARTYR.

St. JOHN's *Goſpel.*	JUSTIN MARTYR's *Works.*
1 Ch. i. 1, &c.	1 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 284, 285.
2 —— 14.	2 Apolog. 2. pro Chriſt. p. 74.
3 Ch. iii. 3.	3 Apolog. p. 94.
4 —— 14.	4 Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 322.
5 Ch. xix. 9.	5 Dialog. p. 329.

the LXX. read אדם for אדום and ירשו for ירשו i. e. *that the reſidue of men might ſeek the Lord.* This is the more conſiderable, becauſe the LXX. are followed in this tranſlation by St. James, in his inſpired diſcourſe, Acts xv. 17.

[a] St. John's word is ἐξεκέντησαν, and Barnabas's κατανυγήσονται.

V. By

V. By THEOPHILUS ANTIOCHENUS.

In his ſecond book to *Autolycus*, he cites John i. 1, 2, &c. and introduces it thus, Διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς αἱ ἅγιαι γραφαὶ, καὶ πάντες οἱ πνευματοφόροι, ἐξ ὧν Ἰωάννης λέγει, &c. i. e. *So the holy Scriptures teach, and all the* inſpired writers, *among whom is John*, who ſaith, *In the beginning was the word*, &c.

VI. By IRENÆUS.

I have obſerved above, treating of St. Matthew's Goſpel, that Feuardentius, at the end of his edition of this Father, has made with great exactneſs an index of moſt of the citations, made by Irenæus from St. Matthew. The ſame is to be ſaid of his index of St. John, in which though he has not collected all, yet he has moſt of, the references made to it. I have examined all thoſe, and obſerved ſeveral others, and dare affirm, that Irenæus has appealed to, or cited this Goſpel, in above one hundred and twenty ſeveral places. It would be needleſs to tranſcribe them. I ſhall ſelect only thoſe places, where St. John's Goſpel is referred to by name, viz.

1 John i. 1, &c. Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 1. c. 1. lib. 2. c. 2. lib. 3. c. 11. &c. lib. 5. c. 18. lib. 3. c. 8. lib. 3. c. 18, &c.
2 John iv. 6. lib. 3. c. 32.
3 —— v. 39. lib. 4. c. 23.
4 —— 46. lib. 4. c. 3.
5 —— xiii. 25. lib. 3. c. 1.
6 —— xx. 31. lib. 3. c. 18.

I will only obſerve farther from this antient Father, that he ſeveral times cites this Goſpel under the expreſs and diſtinguiſhing name of SCRIPTURE, or THE SCRIPTURE; ſo for inſtance, citing John i. 3. (lib. i. cap. 19.) he introduces it thus, *Quemadmodum Scriptura dicit*, i. e. AS THE SCRIPTURE SAITH. [a]Again, citing John xiv. 6. (lib. 3. c. 5.)

[a] Though the words do indeed introduce another text, yet it is evident they are alſo to be referred to this.

he ſays, he takes his proof *ex Scripturis*, i. e. *from the Scriptures.*

VII. By CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

The editor of the Paris edition of this Father's works, has prefixed a collection of above thirty places, which are cited, as he ſays, by Clemens out of St. John's Goſpel; but, as I have above obſerved on St. Matthew, his collection is in ſo many reſpects inaccurate, falſe, and defective, that as I could not depend upon it myſelf, ſo neither could I refer the reader to it. I have therefore made the following collection, which is juſt, and may be ſafely depended upon.

A Collection of the places of St. John's Goſpel, cited by Clemens Alexandrinus.

St. JOHN'S *Goſpel.*	*The Works of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.
1 Chap. i. 1.	1 Admonit. ad Gentes p. 5. et Pædagog. lib. 1. c. viii. p. 113.
2 ——— 3.	2 Pædagog. lib. 3. c. 5. p. 233. Stromat. lib. 1. p. 292. et lib. 6. p. 662.
3 ——— 12.	3 Stromat. lib. 4. p. 484.
4 ——— 14.	4 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 83. et Stromat. lib. 5. p. 553.
5 ——— 16.	5 Stromat. lib. 1. p. 312.
6 ——— 17.	6 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 7. p. 112.
7 ——— 18.	7 Stromat. lib. 5. p. 587.
8 ——— 27.	8 ——— p. 573
9 ——— 29.	9 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 91, 92.
10 Ch. ii. 7.	10 Pædagog. lib. 2. c. 2. p. 156.
11 Ch. iii. 6.	11 Stromat. lib. 3. p. 462.

12 Chap.

St. JOHN's *Gospel.*	*The Works of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.
12 Chap. iii. 16.	12 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 6. p. 94. et Strom. lib. 5. p. 591.
13 ——— 19.	13 Admonit. ad Gentes, p. 63.
14 Ch. iv. 6.	14 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 9. p. 126.
15 ——— 7.	15 Pædagog. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 161.
16 ——— 32.	16 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 6. p. 104.
17 Ch. v. 24.	17 Pædagog. c. 6. p. 93.
18 Ch. vi. 27.	18 Stromat. lib. 1. p. 272. Stromat. lib. 3. p. 463.
19 ——— 32.	19 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 6. p. 104.
20 ——— 36.	20 Stromat. lib. 4. p. 542.
21 ——— 39.	21 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 6. p. 94.
22 ——— 51.	22 Pædagog. c. 6. p. 100—102.
23 Ch. vii. 16.	23 Stromat. lib. 1. p. 312.
24 ——— 18.	24 Ibid.
25 ——— 33.	25 Stromat. lib. 4. p. 468. Stromat. lib. 6. p. 666.
26 Ch. viii. 24.	26 Stromat. lib. 5. p. 591.
27 ——— 34, 35.	27 ——— lib. 2. p. 368.
28 ——— 44.	28 ——— lib. 1. p. 311.
29 Ch. x. 1.	29 ——— lib. 5. p. 590.
30 ——— 7, 9.	30 Admonit. ad Gentes, p. 8.
31 ——— 8.	31 Stromat. lib. 1. p. 309.
32 ——— 11.	32 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 7. p. 108. Pædagog. c. 9. p. 126. Pædagog. c. 11. p. 133.

St. JOHN's *Goſpel.*	*The Works of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.
33 Chap. xi. 43.	33 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 81.
34 Ch. xiii. 5, &c.	34 Pædagog. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 161.
35 Ch. xiv. 6.	35 Stromat. lib. 1. p. 285. Stromat. lib. 5. p. 553.
36 Ch. xv. 1.	36 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 115. Stromat. lib. 1. p. 291.
37 ——— 11, 12.	37 Stromat. lib. 2. p. 391.
38 Ch. xvi. 27.	38 Pædagog. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 82.
39 Ch. xvii. 23.	39 Ibid.
40 ——— 21—27.	40 Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 117, 118.
41 Ch. xx. 29.	41 Stromat. lib. 2. p. 362.
42 Ch. xxi. 9, &c.	42 Pædagog. lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 147.

By all that is above ſaid, it is undeniably evident, that this Goſpel of St. John was appealed to as Scripture, in the writings of the firſt and moſt early Chriſtians. The matter is ſo clear, and the citations ſo numerous in the writings of Tertullian, Origen, Jerome, Auſtin, &c. that I thought it needleſs to collect them.

Arg. III. The Goſpel of St. John is of Canonical authority by Prop. VI. becauſe *it was read as Scripture in the aſſemblies or the churches of the primitive Chriſtians.* Not to repeat what I have above ſaid, for the proof of this I muſt refer the reader to Vol. I. Part I. Ch. X. of this work, and what is ſaid above, concerning the reading of St. Matthew's Goſpel, in this Part, Chap. III.

Arg. IV. The Goſpel of St. John is of Canonical authority, by Prop. XV. becauſe it *was eſteemed as ſuch by the churches*

churches of Syria in or near the Apoſtles' time, and accordingly placed by them among their collection of ſacred books.

All the objection, which has been made againſt the authority of this Goſpel, is, *that it was not written by St. John, but a noted Heretick, Cerinthus,* who was cotemporary with St. John. This was firſt aſſerted by the Hereticks, whom Epiphanius calls Ἄλογοι, *Alogians,* becauſe they did not believe the λόγος, or *word,* ſpoken of in the firſt chapter of the Goſpel; (ſee Epiphan. Hæreſ. 51. §. 1, 2, 3.) Nor do I know, that any of the antient Hereticks beſides theſe were of this opinion. Sixtus Senenſis [a] and Father Simon [b] tell us, the Theodotians, or followers of Theodotus Byzantius, followed the Alogians herein; but I believe theſe two learned writers were led into this miſtake by a too haſty reading of the words of Epiphanius, (Hæreſ. 51. §. 1.) where this is not aſſerted of the Theodotians. Mr. Toland indeed, has inſinuated this objection againſt the credit of St. John's Goſpel [c]; but it is eaſy to anſwer him and his brethren the *Alogi.*

1. *That the Goſpel is directly contrary to the doctrines of Cerinthus.* He taught, that Chriſt *was in all reſpects a mere man,* ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος, born as other men. This Goſpel evidently *aſſerts the contrary. How can it be* (ſays Epiphanius, §. 4.) *that thoſe things ſhould be wrote by Cerinthus, which are directly contrary to Cerinthus?* See this argument farther purſued, and well managed, by that Father in the place cited.

2. The antient writers aſſure us, that *this Goſpel was written by St. John, with the particular intention of confuting the hereſy of Cerinthus.* So Irenæus [d], Epiphanius [e], Jerome [f], &c. See this proved above, Ch. XIV. in the beginning.

3. Beſides theſe ſilly and late Hereticks, the Alogians, *all the Chriſtians do unanimouſly aſcribe it to St. John.* I call them late, becauſe, according to Epiphanius, (Hær. 51. §. 1.) they did not ariſe till after the Montaniſts, i. e. not till

[a] Biblioth. Sanct. l. 7. de Evang. Joan. Hæreſ.

[b] Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part 1. ch. 13. p. 117.

[c] Amyntor, p. 65.

[d] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 11.

[e] Hæreſ. 51. §. 4. & 12.

[f] Præfat. in Comment. in Matt. & Catal. Vir. Illuſtr. in Joan.

after

after the latter end of the ſecond century. The fathers who have aſcribed this Goſpel to St. John, as its author, are above cited in the preceding Chapter; to which I add, that in the *Hypotypoſes*, under the name of Clemens Alexandrinus [a], the author ſtiles him πνεύματι θεοφορηθέντα: i. e. *inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt in writing his Goſpel*; and Origen [b] ſays, this Goſpel was received as his, among the ἀναντίῤῥητα ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ: i. e. *the books which were admitted by all the churches in the world.* He who has a mind, may ſee more in anſwer to the opinion of Cerinthus being the author of St. John's Goſpel, in Epiphanius, Sixtus Senenſis, and Father Simon, in the places already cited; and beſides theſe, in the two anſwers of Mr. Nye [c], and Mr. Richardſon [d], to Amyntor, and Dr. Whitby's preface to his Annotations upon this Goſpel.

As to the portions of this Goſpel, which are ſuppoſed not to be written by John, viz. the hiſtory of the adulterous woman, ch. viii. and the whole laſt chapter of the Goſpel; I have no more to ſay, than that concerning the former I have ſaid ſomewhat, Vol. I. Part I. Ch. XVIII. p. 111. and the latter is only a conjecture of Grotius [e], without any ſolid foundation; as is well judged by the French critics, Father Simon [f] and Du Pin [g]; and after them, by Dr. Mill, Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. §. 249.

[a] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 14.
[b] Expoſit. in Matt. lib. 1. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6. c. 25.
[c] Defence of the Canon, p. 81.
[d] Canon Vindicated, p. 73.
[e] Annot. in Joan. xx. 30.
[f] Crit. Hiſt. New Teſt. loc. cit.
[g] Hiſt. of the Canon of the New Teſt. Vol. ii. c. 2. §. 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

St. Luke was the Author of the Acts of the Apoſtles. This proved from many Teſtimonies of the antient Fathers. An Objection from the Synopſis, under the Name of Athanaſius, refuted. The Acts contain the Hiſtory of the Chriſtian Church for the Space of twenty-eight Years. The Time of St. Luke's writing the Acts diſcovered. Whether he went to Alexandria? The Acts were ſoon tranſlated into Hebrew.

I. ST. Luke, the author of the Goſpel under that name, *was alſo the author of the book* intitled, THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. This is apparent from the conſtant teſtimony of all antiquity, the matter being never once queſtioned by any of the Catholick Church. I ſhall mention only thoſe which are moſt antient.

1. Irenæus has in ſeveral places *aſcribed this Hiſtory to St. Luke, as its author*; for inſtance, citing the Hiſtory, Acts viii. 9. he introduces it thus: *Luke, the diſciple and follower of the Apoſtles*, ſays thus, *A certain man, named Simon* [a]; in another place [b], citing Acts xv. 39, &c. he ſaith, *Luke was the inſeparable companion and fellow-labourer of Paul, and wrote thus*, viz. concerning the contention of Paul and Barnabas; and then proceeds largely to prove, that St. Luke was the conſtant companion of St. Paul, becauſe in the Acts, Chap. xvi. 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, and Chap. xx. xxi. and xxvii. he ſpeaks in the *firſt perſon plural*, "WE endeavoured, WE came, "WE went, WE ſate down, and WE ſpake, &c." all which proves, that Irenæus looked upon Luke as the undoubted author of this book. The ſame he proves from ſeveral places of St. Paul's Epiſtles (viz. 2 Tim. iv. 11. Col. iv. 14.) and concludes from the whole *St. Luke's fitneſs for writing a juſt*

[a] Diſcipulus et ſectator Apoſtolorum ait; *Vir quidam, nomine Simon*, &c. adv. Hæreſ. lib. i. c. 20.

[b] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 14.

and

and true hiſtory. In another place [a] he ſhews, that St. Luke's Acts of the Apoſtles *ought to be equally received with his Goſpel; for that in them he has carefully delivered to us the truth, and given us a ſure rule for ſalvation*, &c. Again, lib. 3. c. 13. he obſerves, that *St. Paul's account*, Gal. ii. 1. of the time when he went to Jeruſalem, *exactly agrees with Luke's account in the Acts.* Laſtly, this Father, citing part of Stephen's ſpeech, Acts vii. introduces it thus, *So Luke writes*, &c [b].

2. Clemens Alexandrinus [c], citing *Paul's ſpeech at Athens*, Acts xvii. 22, &c. introduces it, *So Luke in the Acts of the Apoſtles relates that Paul ſaid*, &c.

3. The Author of the Hypotypoſes, under the name of Clemens Alexandrinus [d], ſpeaking of the *Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, ſays it was tranſlated out of its original Hebrew, in which it was written by Paul, into Greek by Luke; whence, ſays he, we may obſerve, that there is a *great likeneſs in the ſtyle of that Epiſtle, and the Acts of the Apoſtles*; from whence it is manifeſt, this author eſteemed Luke the author of *the Acts of the Apoſtles.*

4. Tertullian cites ſeveral places out of *the Acts of the Apoſtles*, which he calls *Commentarius Lucæ*, i. e. *the Commentary of Luke* [e].

5. Origen aſcribes *the Acts of the Apoſtles* to Luke [f].

6. Euſebius ſaith, *Luke has left us two inſpired volumes*, viz. the Goſpel and *the Acts* [g].

[a] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 15.

[b] Lucas Stephanum ſic dixiſſe ſcripſit. Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 4. c. 29.

[c] Καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπομνημονεύει τὸν Παῦλον λέγοντα. Strom. lib. 5. p. 588.

[d] Ὥθεν τὸν αὐτὸν χρῶτα εὑρίσκεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν Πράξεων. Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 14.

[e] Lib. de jejun. adverſ. Pſych. cap. 10.

[f] Λουκᾶς ὁ γράψας τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τὰς Πράξεις. Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6. c. 25. It may indeed be queſtioned, whether theſe are the words of Origen, or Euſebius himſelf.

[g] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 4.

7. Jerome

7. Jerome alſo expreſsly aſſerts *the Acts* to be *the compoſure of Luke* [a].

8. *Several antient manuſcript Greek copies have the name of St. Luke prefixed to this Hiſtory* (Simon. Crit. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part I. c. 14.); as alſo hath the old Syriack Verſion, which ſeems in this caſe to have ſome weight, as agreeing with all antiquity.

From all this teſtimony my propoſition is abundantly evident; nor have I met with any thing which can be objected hereto, unleſs that it be made an objection, which we read in the author of the *Synopſis Scripturarum*, under the name of Athanaſius, viz. that *Peter dictated the Acts of the Apoſtles, but Luke wrote them* [b]; but it is eaſy to reply;

1. *That one ſingle teſtimony is not to be credited againſt the univerſal concurrence of antiquity.*

2. It is very evident, that *Luke wrote the greateſt part of this book of his own knowledge*, and ſo had no need of any one to dictate to him. And hence Euſebius ſays, *he wrote the Acts not from tradition, or hearſay, but as what he ſaw and heard* [c]; and Jerome expreſsly [d], *he wrote the Acts from what himſelf ſaw.* Beſides, as Luke was the conſtant companion of Paul, he was more capable of writing his hiſtory, which is the greateſt part of the book, than Peter could be.

II. *The Acts of the Apoſtles*, written by St. Luke, *contain the hiſtory of the infant ſtate of the Chriſtian Church, for the ſpace of about twenty-eight years.* He begins this Hiſtory where his Goſpel-hiſtory ended, viz. with an account of our Saviour's aſcenſion, and what followed in the Church afterwards. He ends his Hiſtory with the relation of Paul's being brought to Rome, and his abode there for the ſpace of two years (xxviii. 30, 31.) Hence the truth of the propoſition will be clearly evinced; for, whereas our Saviour aſcended in

[a] Catalog. viror. illuſtr. in Joan.

[b] Τὰς Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὑπαγόρευσε μὲν Πέτρῳ ὁ ἀπόστολος, συνεγράψατο δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Λουκᾶς. Vid. Synopſ.

[c] Loc. cit.

[d] Acta apoſtolorum, ſicut viderat, compoſuit. Loc. cit.

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the year from his birth 33, and St. Paul went to Rome in the fourth or fifth year of Nero's reign, i. e. in the year of Chriſt 58, or rather 59; if we add to this number the two years of his abode there, with which account the hiſtory of the Acts is concluded, it will produce the year 61, which from the year 33, makes juſt twenty-eight years.

There is indeed the difference of *two years* between the above account, and that of Biſhop Pearſon [a], Spanheim [b], Dr. Mill [c], and ſome others; but as the difference is ſo ſmall, and my account is conformable to the common chronology of Chriſtianity, I ſhall ſay no more.

COROLL. *Hence we ſee* near to what time *this Hiſtory of the Acts was written*, viz. *either in the year of Chriſt* 62, *or not long after*. It being altogether probable, that St. Luke would not defer his writing long after his departure from St. Paul; which ſeems to have been now, when the Apoſtle was ſet at liberty from his confinement at Rome. I have above obſerved (Chap. XI.), treating of St. Luke's Goſpel, that St. Luke continued at Rome after St. Paul went thence; and there it is probable, he wrote very ſoon both his *Goſpel* and *Acts*. That he wrote them both in the ſame year ſeems very probable, as it is certain that one of them is only to be looked upon as the ſecond part, or continuation of the other. Dr. Grabe [d], to ſerve a particular deſign, and after him Dr. Mill [e], ſuppoſe St. Luke to have gone, immediately upon his parting from St. Paul, into Egypt, and there at Alexandria to have publiſhed both his Goſpel and Acts of the Apoſtles, A. D. 64. The foundation of this opinion is partly the aſſertion of it in the title of the Syriack Verſion, and partly the credit of the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles, in which it is ſaid, that Luke ordained Avilius, ſecond Biſhop of Alexandria (lib. 7. c. 46.); but neither of theſe are of any weight, the titles and epigraphs of

[a] Annal. Paulin. p. 18.
[b] Hiſtor. Chriſt. Sæcul. I. §. 6.
[c] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. §. 121.
[d] Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 32, 33.
[e] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. §. 114, et 121.

this

this Verſion not being of very certain authority, and the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles of much leſs, or none at all.

III. *The Acts of the Apoſtles* ſeem to have been very early tranſlated out of Greek into Hebrew. This, Epiphanius tells us [a], he had by information from ſeveral Jews, and afterwards [b], that one Joſephus found a copy of the Acts in Hebrew in the Jewiſh archives at Tiberias.

CHAP. XVII.

The Acts of the Apoſtles proved to be Canonical by various Arguments. A Miſtake of ſome learned Men corrected; viz. *that the Acts were not ſo much known or regarded, as the other Books of the New Teſtament. A Paſſage of a Book under the Name of Chryſoſtom to this Purpoſe, largely conſidered. Who among the antient Hereticks rejected the Acts.*

Arg. I. THE *Acts of the Apoſtles* are of Canonical authority by Prop. IV. becauſe it is found in all the catalogues of ſacred books, which we have in the writings of the primitive Chriſtians. See Vol. I. Part I. Ch. VIII.

Arg. II. *The Acts of the Apoſtles* are of Canonical authority, becauſe they are cited and appealed to as Scripture, in the writings of the primitive Chriſtians, by Prop. V. as will appear from the following inſtances.

The Acts of the Apoſtles are cited,

I. By CLEMENS ROMANUS, Epiſt. I. *ad Corinth.*

Ch. II. He cites the words, which are Acts xx. 35.

Ch. XVIII. *He certainly made uſe of, and appears to have read, Acts* xiii. 22. For, whereas Paul in that place manifeſtly

[a] Hæreſ. 30. Ebionit. §. 3. [b] Ibid. §. 6. et §. 12.

cites Pſalm lxxxix. 20. and makes an addition or paraphraſe in the citation, inſerting thoſe words κατα τὴν καρδίαν μου, which are not in the Pſalm, Clemens citing the ſame Pſalm has inſerted Paul's addition. Nor is there any room to object, *that perhaps they both cited according to the Septuagint*; for there are no ſuch words in any of the copies of the Septuagint, nor any various reading like it to be found.

II. By POLYCARP, *Epiſt. ad Philipp.*

Ch. I. He cites thoſe words of Peter's ſpeech, which are recorded, Acts ii. 24.

III. By JUSTIN MARTYR.

Cohort. ad Græc. p. 11. he cites Acts vii. 22. viz. *that Moſes was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians.* And as Juſtin could not gather this out of the book of Exodus, ſo among other reaſons it is certain he did not, becauſe he cites thoſe whom he calls σοφώτατοι τῶν ἱστοριογράφων, thoſe excellent hiſtorians, who wrote Moſes's life and actions; which cannot refer to the Pentateuch.

In the book under Juſtin's name, undoubtedly antient, the Acts are often referred to; e. g. Expoſit. Fidei de rect. Confeſ. p. 375. reference is made to Acts ix. 15. and Quæſt. et Reſponſ. ad Orthodox. which perhaps is partly Juſtin's, it is often cited, viz. Acts i. 7. Quæſt. 112. iv. 18. Reſponſ. ad Quæſt. 24. et Reſponſ. ad Quæſt. 108. vii. 22. Quæſt. 25. x. per tot. Quæſt. 89. xxiii. 3. Quæſt. 125. and many other places.

IV. By IRENÆUS.

This Father has often appealed to theſe Acts of St. Luke: I have made the following collection.

The Acts of the Apoſtles.	*The Works of* IRENÆUS.
1 Chap. i. 7.	1 Lib. 1. adv. Hæreſ. c. 33.
2 ——— 8.	2 Ib. 3. c. 1.
3 ——— 16, 17.	3 ——— 12.
4 ——— 20.	4 ——— 12. et Lib. 1. c. 36.

The

The Acts of the Apoſtles.	*The Works of* IRENÆUS.
5 Ch. ii. 15, 16, 17, 22, 29.	5 Lib. 3. c. 12.
6 ——— 41.	6 Ib. 4. c. 40.
7 Ch. iii. 6, 7, 8, 12.	7 Ib. 3. c. 12.
8 Ch. iv. 8, 9, 24, 31, 33.	8 Ib. p. 264.
9 ——— 32.	9 Ib. 1. c. 3.
10 Ch. v. 30, 42.	10 Ib. 3. c. 12.
11 Ch. vii. 2—7.	11 Ib. N. B. *Here he calls this book Scripture ſeveral times.*
12 Ch. vii. 38, 39, 40.	12 Lib. 29. *Here Luke is named.*
13 ——— 56, &c.	13 Ib. 3. c. 12.
14 Ch. viii. 9.	14 Ib. 1. c. 20. *Here Luke is named alſo, and called a Diſciple and companion of the Apoſtles.*
15 ——— 17.	15 Ib. 4. c. 75.
16 ——— 20, &c.	16 Ib. 1. c. 20.
17 ——— 30, &c.	17 Ib. 4. c. 40. et Lib. 3. c. 12.
18 ——— 33, 37.	18 Ib.
19 Ch. ix. 4, 5, &c.	19 Ib.
20 ——— 4, 5, 15, 16.	20 Ib. 3. c. 15. *Here Irenæus argues for the credit of Luke and his Acts.*
21 ——— 20.	21 Ib. 3. c. 12.
22 Ch. x. 1, &c. 25.	22 Ib.
23 ——— 28.	23 Ib.
24 ——— 35, 37.	24 Ib.
25 Ch. xiv. 15.	25 Ib.
26 Ch. xv. 7, &c.	26 Ib.
27 ——— 23, &c.	27 Ib.
28 Ch. xvi. 9, &c.	28 Ib. 3. c. 14. *This whole chapter is taken*

The Acts of the Apoſtles.	*The Works of* IRENÆUS.
	up in aſſerting the credit of St. Luke, and the uſefulneſs of his writings.
29 Ch. xvii. 24—31.	29 ——— 12.
30 Ch. xx. 6.	30 ——— 14.

V. By CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

The Acts of the Apoſtles.	*The Works of* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.
1 Ch. vi. 2.	1 Pædagog. lib. 2. c. 7. p. 172.
2 Ch. x. 11—16.	2 ——— lib. 2. c. 1. p. 149.
3 ——— 34, 35.	3 Stromat. lib. 6. p. 646.
4 Ch. xv. 28, &c.	4 Pædagog. lib. 2. c. 7. p. 172. et Strom. lib. 4. p. 512.
5 Ch. xvii. 22, &c.	5 Stromat. lib. 5. p. 588. *Here Luke is cited by name as the author of the Acts.*
6 ——— 24, &c.	6 ——— p. 584. *See this ſpeech of Paul, alſo Strom.* lib. 1. p. 314, 315.
7 Ch. xxvi. 17, &c.	7 Ib.

VI. By TERTULLIAN.

He makes very numerous appeals to, and citations from, theſe Acts; it would be tedious to collect them all; I chooſe rather to obſerve, that this Father cites it under the expreſs name of *Scripture: which part of Scripture*, ſays he, *they who do not receive, muſt deny the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, and be ignorant of the infant ſtate of the Chriſtian Church*[a]. In like

[a] Quam Scripturam qui non recipiunt, nec Spiritum ſanctum poſſunt agnoſcere, diſcentibus miſſum, &c. De Præſcript. adv. Hæretic. cap. 22.

manner

manner he calls it *Scripture* in another place [a], *diſputes* againſt the Marcionites, and *condemns* them for rejecting the Acts, proving *their truth and genuineneſs by* the teſtimonies of St. Paul in his Epiſtles, and in another place [b] expreſsly calls it the *compoſure of Luke.* I will not tire the reader with any more collections of the Fathers' appeals to theſe Acts. The later Fathers cite them continually, as the only authentick hiſtory they had, of the primitive ſtate of the church. I proceed:

Arg. III. The Acts of the Apoſtles are Canonical, *becauſe they were read as Scripture in the churches or aſſemblies of the Chriſtians in the firſt ages, by Prop.* VI. For the evidence of this, it will be ſufficient to conſult Vol. I. Part I. Ch. X. and what is above ſaid, concerning the reading of St. Matthew's Goſpel, in this Part, Ch. III.

COROLL. I. From this and the preceding arguments, it is evident, that ſeveral learned men are *very groſsly miſtaken*, who conclude, that the Acts of the Apoſtles *were leſs known, leſs read, and leſs regarded in the firſt centuries, than the other books of the New Teſtament.* The foundation of their opinion is a paſſage in the *Prolegomena* upon the *Acts*, under the name of *Chryſoſtom* [c], which begins thus: *This book is not ſo much as known to many; they know neither the book, nor by whom it was written.* Hence thoſe, who always labour to leſſen the credit of the Canon, have drawn fine concluſions.

1. Father Simon [d] concludes hence, that *the Goſpels and the Epiſtles of St. Paul were then* (viz. in Chryſoſtom's time, i. e. in the fifth century) *only accounted to belong to the New Teſtament: perhaps*, ſays he, *none but theſe two works, were read in the churches in thoſe primitive ages.*

[a] Scripturam Actorum Apoſtolorum confirmat. Adv. Marcion. l. 5. c. 2.

[b] *Commentarium Lucæ.* Lib. de Jejun. adv. Pſych. cap. 10.

[c] Πολλοῖς τουτὸ τὸ βιβλίον οὐδ' ὅτι γνώριμόν ἐστιν, οὔτε αὐτὸ, οὔτε ὁ γράψας αὐτὸ καὶ συνήθεις. Vid. Mill. Præf. in Act. p. 254.

[d] Critic. Hiſt. of the N. T. Par. 1. ch. 14.

2. Dr. Mill [a], after having ſaid the Goſpels were ſoon ſpread into every one's hands, adds, "The caſe was not ſo "with the other books of the New Teſtament; for the books "of the Acts being of ſomewhat leſs uſefulneſs, than the Goſ-"pel of Luke, as containing the hiſtory, not of Chriſt, but "of his Apoſtles, or rather indeed only of Paul, was neither "read in the churches, nor wrote out but by very few;" then he cites the paſſage of Chryſoſtom above produced.

Thus did theſe two learned men endeavour, without any arguments, to leſſen the credit of this ſacred book: for if my preceding arguments are good, and the Acts of the Apoſtles be in all the catalogues of the ſacred books among the antients; if it was cited by all the firſt Chriſtians in their writings, and was read in their churches (all which I have undeniably proved); with what face could theſe gentlemen tell the world, that it was not read nor known among the Chriſtians? The book appears, by all the writings of antiquity, to have been almoſt as much known as the Goſpels themſelves, and as conſtantly uſed: but their refuge is the paſſage of Chryſoſtom: he ſays, *It was not known to many.* To which I reply,

1. *That this does not appear to be the work of Chryſoſtom,* and Dr. Mill himſelf [b] ſuſpected it: *Chryſoſtomus,* ſays he, *vel alius quiſpiam ſub ejus nomine,* &c. Bellarmine indeed contends for its genuineneſs [c]. Eraſmus [d] ſeems to have thought that it was not his; and ſo it is moſt probable.

2. It does not follow, that, *becauſe ſeveral perſons, or moſt, in the country, where this author wrote, were ignorant of the Acts; that therefore it was not known to the greateſt part of the Chriſtian church.* Eraſmus ſuppoſes [e], that the author means only, that *it was unknown to the rabble; but the learned know it.* It is much better explained by the learned Fabricius [f].

[a] Proleg. in N. T. §. 242, 243.
[b] Ibid.
[c] De Script. Eccleſ. in Chryſoſtom.
[d] Annot. in Act. i. 1.
[e] Ibid.
[f] Sed apparet hiſce verbis potius ſupinam quorundam inſcitiam et torporem, quam publicam Eccleſiæ ſuorum temporum negligentiam, a viro diſertiſſimo reprehendi et increpari. Cod. Apoc. N. T. t. 2. p. 751.

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Theſe words, ſays he, *rather ſhew, that the wretched ignorance and lazineſs of ſome particular perſons was condemned by Chryſoſtom, than the negligence of the univerſal church in his time.*

3. If Chryſoſtom himſelf had poſitively aſſerted, that the Acts of the Apoſtles were not known and read in his time, he ought not to be believed, becauſe the evidence is ſo plain to the contrary from ſo many authors.

4. Add to this, that Chryſoſtom himſelf in another place ſaith, that the Acts of the Apoſtles was wont to be read in their churches after Eaſter, and before Whitſuntide; for this he aſſigns this reaſon, that nothing can more convictively evidence the reſurrection of Chriſt, which is the baſis of all our religion, than the pouring forth of the Holy Ghoſt, and the propagation of the Goſpel by their miniſtry over the world; all which is recorded in the Acts. Vid. Fabric. Cod. Apoc. N. T. Præfat. in tom. 2. And this, by the way, ſeems to me no ſmall evidence of what I have above ſaid, viz. that the book upon the Acts, from whence the paſſage under debate was taken, was not made by Chryſoſtom; if it was, Chryſoſtom muſt contradict himſelf in a plain matter of fact, viz. In one place he aſſerts the book not to be known; and in another, that it was publickly read in the churches.

Eraſmus, though he ſeems not to give any credit to the paſſage under the name of Chryſoſtom, yet, for another reaſon, concludes the Acts were not ſo much known in the Greek church, as the Goſpels and Paul's Epiſtles, viz. *becauſe*, as he ſays, *major erat lectionis varietas, he found more various lections in the MSS. of this, than any other of the ſacred books.* What this learned critic means, I know not; if his argument will prove any thing, it is the direct contrary; for the more various lections there are of any book, the more often it has been tranſcribed, and conſequently the more it appears to have been in uſe.

Arg. IV. The Acts of the Apoſtles are Canonical, becauſe the book is found among thoſe which were received by the churches of Syria as ſuch, and which they collected together as Scripture, and tranſlated; Prop. XV.

From what is ſaid it appears, that the Acts have as much evidence of their genuineneſs and Canonical authority, as they need to have, or can be ſuppoſed to have, at this diſtance of time from their writing. I know nothing that has been objected againſt the authority of this ſacred volume; nor indeed that can be, unleſs it ſhould be ſaid, that *ſome of the firſt and moſt early Hereticks of the church did not receive it as Scripture.* The fact is indeed certain. The Acts appear to have been rejected by ſeveral of them. Tertullian tells us, that Cerdo (whoſe diſciple Marcion was) rejected the Acts as falſe [a]; and in the ſame book [b] diſputes againſt ſome whom he does not name, who denied this part of Scripture; and in his diſpute againſt Marcion [c], confutes him and his diſciples for their abſurd opinion of rejecting the Acts. Philaſtrius informs us, that the Cerinthians alſo did not receive it [d]: as Auſtin likewiſe [e], that the Manichees did not, becauſe they looked upon Manes or Manichæus *to be the Paraclete foretold, John* xvi. *whereas the Acts of the Apoſtles expreſsly declare it* to have been the Holy Ghoſt, who deſcended upon the Apoſtles. I have carefully examined the ſeveral places, where theſe Hereticks are ſaid to have rejected the Acts, but find not any one reaſon aſſigned for their doing ſo. But to end in Father Simon's words [f]; "Let us leave theſe enthuſiaſts, who had no "other reaſon to refuſe the books that were approved by the "whole Church, than this, that they did not ſuit with the idea, "which they had formed of the Chriſtian religion."

[a] Lib. de Præſcript. adv. Hæretic. c. 51. Acta Apoſtolorum quaſi falſa rejicit. Vid. Pamel. Annot. in loc.

[b] Cap. 22. Quam Scripturam qui non recipiunt, nec Spiritum Sanctum poſſunt agnoſcere, &c.

[c] Adv. Marcion. lib. 5. c. 2.

[d] Hæreſ. 26.

[e] De Utilitate credendi, ad Honorat. cap. 3.

[f] Critic. Hiſt. of New Teſt. Par. I. c. 14. in fine.

A

VINDICATION

OF

THE FORMER PART

OF

St. MATTHEW's GOSPEL,

FROM

Mr. WHISTON's CHARGE of DISLOCATIONS.

OR

An Attempt to prove, that our preſent GREEK COPIES of that GOSPEL are in the ſame Order, wherein they were originally written by that EVANGELIST.

IN WHICH ARE CONTAINED,

Many Things relating to the Harmony and Hiſtory of the FOUR GOSPELS.

By JEREMIAH JONES.

TO

MR. SAMUEL JONES.

SIR,

OF all thoſe various ſtudies in which mankind are employed, there are none in which the Chriſtian ſhould more heartily engage, than thoſe which have a tendency to advance the honour, and promote the knowledge, of the ſacred Scriptures.

The underſtanding the two original languages, in which the Bible was written, an acquaintance with the dialects of the Hebrew, the antient Verſions of the Old and New Teſtament, the cuſtoms of the Jews, and other neighbouring nations, are means very neceſſary for obtaining theſe ends. By theſe and ſome other ſuch means, very great advances were made towards the knowledge of the Scriptures, in the beginning of the laſt century. Difficulties, which before ſeemed inſuperable, were ſolved, and ſeeming contradictions, which gave occaſion to the enemies of Chriſtianity, to *blaſpheme the good word of God*, were by theſe means happily and fully reconciled. Grotius, Scaliger,

Scaliger, Caſaubon, Druſius, Spanheim, Hammond, Lightfoot, &c. to the great advantage of Chriſtianity, employed their endeavours in theſe ſtudies; and nothing is more to be lamented, than that ſo few ſince their time have followed their example, and endeavoured to promote the ſame ſort of knowledge.

How unwearied and ſucceſsful your endeavours, Sir, have been, to revive this ſort of learning among us, there are many who will gratefully acknowledge, and future generations will have juſt occaſion to own. It is owing to you, Sir, and your inſtructions, that a great number of youth are now employed in endeavours, by the uſe of the forementioned means, to underſtand, and make others underſtand, the ſacred Scripture. I deſign not to fill an Epiſtle with any of the trite nauſeous flattering expreſſions, of which dedications ordinarily conſiſt. Flattery is what, I know, you neceſſarily hate, and, to ſpeak your praiſe, I need not. All I deſign is to improve the opportunity I now have, publickly to acknowledge myſelf obliged to you for all the proficiency I have made, either in the forementioned, or any other ſtudies, and withal to expreſs my deſire of your future greater ſucceſs in your uſeful work.

Go on then, Sir, and may heaven ſtill bleſs you with the continuance of your health, and deſired ſucceſs; may you ſtill be the happy inſtrument

ſtrument of making many fit for publick uſefulneſs, and eminent ſervice to the Church of Chriſt, and the intereſt of true Religion.

This, Sir, is the very earneſt deſire of

Your moſt Obliged

Humble Servant,

JEREMIAH JONES.

THE

THE PREFACE.

EVERY one, who makes a profeſſion of Chriſtianity, does thereby oblige himſelf to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, in all poſſible inſtances, for the ſupport, defence, and advancement of that excellent Religion; and if, in this matter, our zeal and diligence ought to be proportionable to the induſtry and numbers of thoſe, who would ſubvert our Religion, perhaps there never was a time, in which our zeal and diligence ſhould be greater. Irreligion indeed, *in its practice*, has been the reproach of all ages, but its open and publick defence ſeems to be peculiar to ours. It is but of late, that men have learnt to ſecure the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their vices and immoralities, by a profeſſed diſbelief of the grand maxims of piety and virtue. It is but of late, that it has been reckoned *a perfection*, boldly to beat down, and level, the eternal *differences of good and evil*. In many companies he now makes the beſt figure, who gives the largeſt proofs of his profaneneſs; and he is a man of the greateſt fire and wit, that dares to ſpeak moſt contemptibly of God, and his providence. It is now become a faſhion-

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able accompliſhment, wittily to deride, and droll upon, ſacred things, and boldly to doubt and diſbelieve every thing in the ſacred Scriptures, *only becauſe it is there.*

How it comes to paſs, that profaneneſs and ſcepticiſm ſhould ſo much abound in the preſent age, may very well deſerve a ſerious enquiry. Among other unhappy cauſes, I cannot but believe the growing diſbelief and contempt of Revealed Religion, and that growth of profaneneſs, which neceſſarily follows ſuch diſbelief, are very much owing to the imprudent treatment, the ſacred Scriptures have met with from many of thoſe, who profeſs to believe their inſpiration. The many methods that have been taken (even by ſeveral of the Chriſtian Clergy) *to render the Canon of Scripture uncertain*; the preferring ſome *ſorry Verſions before the Originals*, and conſequently correcting and altering the Originals by theſe Verſions; *the great freedoms that have been taken with the ſacred text*, by a groundleſs ſuppoſition of corruptions and contradictions therein, have been the unhappy means of making many reject the Revelation itſelf. The unguarded diſcourſes of divers learned and ingenious men on thoſe heads, have ſupplied the enemies of Chriſtianity with arguments againſt it, and been many ways improved by evil minds to its diſhonour. Theſe are the weapons, with which Hobbes, Spinoza[a], Toland[b], and the *club of De-*

[a] Tractat. Theolog. Politic. c. 8, 9. [b] In his Amyntor.

iſts,

iſts, or *free-thinkers*[a] (as they love to be called), have fought againſt all Revealed Religion; and it is but too well known, how eaſily weak and degenerate minds have been influenced, and impoſed upon, by their ſophiſtry.

Among the various methods that have been taken to weaken the credit of the holy Scriptures, I cannot but reckon that which Mr. Whiſton has taken, to reconcile the difference which there is between St. Matthew and the other Evangeliſts, *in point of time*, to be one. The third propoſition of his Harmony is, that *the former part of St. Matthew's Goſpel, in our preſent copies, is very much miſplaced, contrary to the method and order, originally intended by the Evangeliſt.* He accounts for this by ſuppoſing, *that the ſeveral parts or periods of this former part of St. Matthew's Goſpel, were written at firſt ſeparately, and upon ſeveral diſtinct papers; which papers, or whatever they were written upon, were put together into their preſent order, by thoſe who did not perfectly know the true ſeries of the hiſtory.* Theſe diſtinct pieces of paper muſt have been (according to this ſuppoſition) about twenty in number, of very unequal ſizes, ſome containing ſeveral chapters, others but a few verſes, and others not above one or two lines. Such a propoſition, and ſuch conſequences, muſt needs tend to leſſen the value and authority of this Goſpel, and make it leſs to be depended upon than any common profane hiſtory.

[a] Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking, p. 85, 86, &c.

Hence Spinoza and Father Simon (who have laboured above all men, to prove the uncertainty of the ſacred text) ſuppoſe ſeveral parts of the writings of the Old Teſtament tranſpoſed and diſordered. The former tells us, "that if we will obſerve how little regard is had to the order of "time, in the five books of Moſes, we ſhall eaſily "perceive, that the ſeveral parts of it were con-"fuſedly ſet together[a]." The latter tells us, "that "we are not to attribute to Moſes, the little order "which is to be found in ſome places of the Pen-"tateuch: it is (ſays he) more probable, that, as "in thoſe times the books were written on little "ſcrolls or ſeparate ſheets, that were ſewed to-"gether, the order of theſe ſheets might be "changed[b]." Mr. Whiſton in another book, (viz. *His Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies*) is of the ſame opinion concerning the books of the Old Teſtament. "I muſt (ſays he) be ſo free and fair to "confeſs, I cannot every where look upon the pre-"ſent order, either of the hiſtories or prophecies "of the Old Teſtament, to have been the original "one, or that which was intended by the penmen "of them[c]." How direct a tendency ſuch an opinion as this has, to weaken the authority, and leſſen the value, of theſe ſacred books, is but too evident. Mr. Whiſton does himſelf call his propoſition, *a new and ſtrange one*, and is very careful to guard himſelf againſt thoſe cenſures and imputa-

[a] Tractat. Theolog. Polit. c. 9.
[b] Critic. Hiſtor. of the Old. Teſt. B. 1. c. 5. p. 40.
[c] Pag. 67.

tions,

tions, to which ſo bold an aſſertion did expoſe him. He eaſily foreſaw, that ſo ſevere an attack made upon one, and by conſequence upon all the ſacred writers, muſt needs meet with the warmeſt reſentment from every mind, that had juſt value for the inſpired volume. After a cloſe and impartial conſideration of Mr. Whiſton's propoſition, I not only concluded it falſe, but very injurious to the honour of this Goſpel, and therefore reſolved (according to my ability) to vindicate this part of the Goſpel hiſtory from ſo great an injury. This is the deſign of the following diſcourſe. It were to be wiſhed ſome more able perſon had undertaken this work ſooner, when Mr. Whiſton's book firſt came out. But if his aſſertion be proved falſe, it is better now than not at all; *Sat cito, ſi ſat bene.*

I ſhould do Mr. Whiſton injuſtice, if I did not here mention, that he has changed his opinion in reſpect of St. Matthew's Goſpel being originally written in Hebrew; but I muſt deſire the reader alſo to obſerve, that the information Mr. Whiſton was pleaſed to give me of this, was after I had wrote all I deſigned on that head.

The reader will obſerve that the Greek words in the following diſcourſe are all printed without their uſual accents[a]. I do not think it needful to make any long apology for this; only would obſerve, that they are but a late appendage to the language, and not found in any manuſcripts, which

[a] In this Edition the accents are preſerved.]

are a thouſand years old. The original deſign of them was, to aſſiſt and direct in the pronunciation of the language; but it not being at all needful for us to pronounce it as the Grecians did, the accents are to us uſeleſs, and no more neceſſary in Greek than Latin.

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CHAP. XVIII.

The Fathers fell into the miſtake, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, becauſe none of them, except Origen, Jerome, and Epiphanius, underſtood that language. They were upon that account unable to compare the Goſpel of the Nazarenes with their own Greek copies, and diſcover its ſpuriouſneſs. This confirmed by a remark, that none of the Fathers, who aſſert St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, have cited the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, except the three mentioned, who underſtood that language. *The reaſons aſſigned, why they (Epiphanius, Jerome, and Origen) fell into the ſame miſtake. Papias, the firſt Chriſtian writer who aſſerts this, was a very fabulous and credulous perſon; yet was followed by many of the Fathers in his miſtakes (as Euſebius obſerves) by reaſon of his antiquity. His teſtimony in this matter, proved by one part of it to be falſe.*

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The Greek was the moſt common language, and, for that reaſon, that Goſpel was moſt likely to be uſeful therein. Suppoſing it a tranſlation, makes its inſpiration dubious. It is not probable, that the original Hebrew would ever have been loſt. The Hebrew one we have now, is certainly a tranſlation out of Greek.

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CHAP. XXII.

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VINDICATION

OF

THE FORMER PART

OF

St. MATTHEW's GOSPEL, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Deſign and principal Authors of Goſpel Harmonies. The Deſign of the following Diſcourſe.

THE difference which there is between the Evangeliſts, in relating ſeveral circumſtances of the Goſpel-hiſtory, and particularly their diſagreement as to *the order of time*, in which the things they relate were done, has in all ages of Chriſtianity been objected as an argument againſt the truth of the hiſtory itſelf. Porphyry, Celſus, and many others, have for this reaſon reviled both the Goſpels, and the religion which they contain. Hence it has been judged neceſſary by many pious and learned men, to employ themſelves in endeavours to reconcile the ſeeming contradictions of theſe ſacred writers, and to reduce the Goſpels to a perfect Harmony. Among the antients, Tatian, the ſcholar of Juſtin Martyr, compoſed a Harmony in ſome part of the ſecond century [a], and after him Ammonius, of Alexandria, in the beginning of the third com-

[a] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 29.

poſed

poſed another, and after him Euſebius, in the beginning of the fourth [a]. In the laſt age great pains was taken in this work, by Chemnitius, Gerhard, Calvin, Dr. Lightfoot, and many others. Mr. Le Clerc, Mr. Whiſton, and Mr. Toinard, are (I think) the only perſons, who have done any thing conſiderable in this matter of late years. To ſay nothing of the others, the world is exceedingly obliged to Mr. Whiſton, for the many curious and uſeful diſcoveries he has made in his performance on this ſubject; the propoſitions he has advanced, are certainly, for the moſt part, very ingenious and happy expedients, to ſolve the difficulties they are deſigned for. There are however ſome of them, that do not ſeem to be ſo very evident and ſo fully proved, as others; and in this number is that which I have now undertaken to diſcuſs, viz. [b] *That the former part of St. Matthew's Goſpel, in our preſent copies, is very much miſplaced, contrary to the method and order originally intended by the Evangeliſt.*

That part of this Goſpel, which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes diſordered and miſplaced, is from the middle of the *fourth*, to the end of the *thirteenth* chapter; in which ſmall portion of the hiſtory there muſt have been, according to his ſuppoſition, at leaſt twenty ſeveral diſorders and miſplacings.

However good Mr. Whiſton's deſign might be in advancing ſo ſtrange a propoſition, I cannot but think he has failed in his proof of it. My buſineſs therefore in the following diſcourſe will be, firſt, To ſhew the invalidity of Mr. Whiſton's arguments, and then offer ſome reaſons, by which it will appear, that no ſuch diſorder can, without the greateſt abſurdity, be ſuppoſed to have happened to this, or any other part of this Goſpel.

[a] A ſpecimen of which is to be ſeen in Sixt. Senenſ. Bib. Sanct. l. 3.

[b] P. 100.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Mr. Whiſton's Proof conſidered. The Queſtion thereupon ſtated. Mr. Whiſton's firſt Argument, viz. *That St. Matthew deſigned to obſerve the Order of Time, anſwered. St. Luke's Words, Chap.* i. 1. *do not prove, that either of the Goſpels we now receive, were intended according to the Order of Time.*

IN order to eſtabliſh this *new* and *ſtrange* propoſition (as Mr. Whiſton himſelf calls it) he undertakes to prove,

1. *That St. Matthew appears originally to have obſerved the order of the time, through his whole Goſpel, as well as the reſt of the Evangeliſts.* 2. *That from the fourth to the fourteenth chapter, the ſeveral branches of St. Matthew's hiſtory are not according to the order of time.*

Theſe two things, could they be ſufficiently proved, do evidently demonſtrate the truth of the propoſition; for if St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel according to the order of time, and it is not now according to that order, it is plain it is miſplaced ſince it was firſt wrote. The latter of theſe two, viz. whether theſe branches of St. Matthew's Goſpel are according to the order of time in our preſent copies, or not, I will not now diſpute. It ſeems it was believed in the firſt ages, that St. Mark, and conſequently St. Luke (for it is certain that, for the moſt part, they obſerved the ſame order, and Mr. Whiſton's Harmony evidently ſhews it), did not follow that order. So we are informed by that very antient account of Papias [a], viz. "That St. Mark, being the interpreter of St. "Peter, very carefully wrote down all the things he could re- "member, but not in that order, in which the ſeveral things "were ſaid or done by Chriſt." To the ſame purpoſe St. Jerome [b]. "That St. Mark, the interpreter of St. Peter, who "himſelf did not ſee our Lord, but wrote the things which he "had

[a] Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα, &c. Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39.

[b] Marcus interpres Apoſtoli Petri—qui Dominum quidem ſalvatorem

" had heard St. Peter preach, was more concerned to be true " in his account of things, than to obſerve the order, in which " the things were done." I might add here, that ſeveral more modern writers have been of the ſame opinion; and that St. Matthew's Goſpel is more according to the order of time, than either St. Mark's or St. Luke's. But (as I ſaid before) I will not diſpute this head; and then the queſtion between us will be only this, Whether St. Matthew appears originally to have obſerved the order of time through his whole Goſpel.

Mr. Whiſton, for the following reaſons, aſſerts it, viz.

1. *Becauſe all the other writers of the Goſpel-hiſtory intended to obſerve this order.*

2. *St. Matthew, in the greateſt part of his Goſpel, does obſerve the* order of time *in his narrations.*

3. The notes *of the* order of time *are as many, and the ſame in that part which is now diſordered, as in that which is regular, and in its proper order.*

1. *Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes, that all the other accounts of our Saviour's Acts were intended according to this order.* For the proof of this he refers us to the firſt and third propoſitions (which, by the way, ſeem to be very near the ſame, only differently expreſſed). The principal proof in both places is taken from thoſe words of St. Luke, chap. i. 1, 2, 3, viz. *Foraſmuch as many have taken in hand, to ſet forth in order a declaration of thoſe things, which are moſt ſurely believed among us; it ſeemed good to me alſo, having had perfect underſtanding of all things, to write unto thee in order, moſt excellent Theophilus.* " St. Luke (ſays Mr. Whiſton) [b] aſſures us, not only " that himſelf had obſerved the *order of time*, but that the ſame " was intended by thoſe many others, who had written the " Evangelical Hiſtory before him." This indeed ſeems plauſible, but will by no means prove that for which Mr. Whiſton contends. For

1. It is very probable, that St. Luke in theſe words had no reference to either of thoſe Goſpels, which we now receive;

rem ipſe non vidit, ſed ea, quæ audierat magiſtrum prædicantem, juxta id ipſum magis geſtorum narravit, quam ordinem. Hieron. Præfat. in Comment. in Matth.

[b] P. 97.

but

but to ſome other accounts of our Saviour's life and acts, which were at that time wrote. As to St. John's Goſpel, it is very certain he could not refer to that, becauſe it was undoubtedly wrote a long time afterwards. Nor is it at all likely, he had any reſpect to either of the other two Goſpels which we now have, as will be apparent from a ſhort conſideration of St. Luke's word. The deſign of them evidently, is to give us an account of the *reaſons* or *motives*, which induced him to write his Goſpel, viz. as he ſays, becauſe many others had undertaken the like work before him. Now how the writing of others ſhould be the *reaſon* or *occaſion* of his writing, is very hard to conceive, unleſs we ſuppoſe ſome inaccuracies and defects in their writing. If the other accounts or hiſtories he is ſuppoſed to refer to, were wrote as they ought to have been, this ſhould have been ſo far from inclining him to write, that it ſhould rather have prevented him, if he had had any ſuch deſign. And therefore the hiſtories or accounts, which St. Luke here refers to, were inaccurate and falſe. This is ſo very evident, that Mr. Whiſton himſelf, in another place [a], has aſſerted the very ſame thing, where he thus paraphraſes theſe words of St. Luke, viz. *That ſeveral of the hiſtories of our Saviour, which he (St. Luke) had peruſed, though they attempted it, were not able to arrive at a ſufficient accuracy in the order of time.* St. Luke therefore, in theſe words (even according to Mr. Whiſton), cannot reſpect either St. Matthew or St. Mark, becauſe they both wrote very accurately, and, according to him, obſerved the order of time. I conclude, therefore, that not the Goſpels we now receive, but the other falſe Goſpels, which were then wrote, were intended by St. Luke in theſe words: this opinion will appear yet much more probable, if we conſider that there were, even at this time, a great number of *falſe* and *ſpurious* Goſpels ſpread abroad in the world. Irenæus [b] tells us, that, before his time, the hereticks had an *infinite number of ſpurious and Apocryphal Scriptures*, which contained (as is plain from what he ſays

[a] P. 114.

[b] Ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν. Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 1. c. 17.

afterwards) an account of our Saviour's life and acts. Men immediately upon the publiſhing of Chriſtianity, formed themſelves into various parties of different denominations; and many or moſt of theſe had their own Goſpel, which was different from that of others. It would be endleſs, as well as needleſs, for me to mention the ſeveral Goſpels of the Ebionites, Marcionites, Nazarenes, the Goſpel of St. Peter, Andrew, James, Bartholomew, &c. Every one, who has in the leaſt made Chriſtian antiquity his ſtudy, is acquainted with theſe things; thoſe that are not, may be fully ſatisfied in the matter, by a bare caſting their eyes upon the authors cited at the bottom of the page [a], who have, eſpecially ſome of them, made a very full collection of the *falſe* Goſpels, which were ſpread abroad in the world, in the very infancy of Chriſtianity. Theſe were the οἱ πολλοὶ, *the many*, whom St. Luke referred to. I would only add here, that this hath been the opinion of many, if not moſt, antient and modern writers. "St. Luke (ſays "Auſtin [b]) gives us this reaſon for his writing in order, be"cauſe many others had attempted it; but we are to under"ſtand him of ſuch, who had no authority nor eſteem in the "Church, having undertaken what they were by no means "able to perform." To the ſame purpoſe ſays Euſebius. "[c] St. Luke, in the beginning of his Goſpel, tells us what "was the occaſion of his writing; intimating, that becauſe "many others had raſhly and inconſiderately undertaken to "write of thoſe things, of which he had a full and certain "knowledge, he alſo would write to prevent the miſchief of "thoſe uncertain accounts." So Theophylact, in explain-

[a] Dr. Grabe's Spicileg. Patr. Fabric. Codex Apocryph. N. T. Sixt. Seneuſ. Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2. Father Simon's Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part 1. c. 3. Du Pin's Hiſt. of the Canon, Vol. II. c. 6. Toland's Catalogue in his Amyntor. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccleſ. ad voc. Εὐαγγέλιον. Spanheim, Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Chriſt. p. 582, &c.

[b] Ideo autem dicit ſibi viſum eſſe ex ordine diligenter ſcribere, quoniam multi conati ſunt; ſed cos debemus accipere, quorum in Eccleſia nulla extat auctoritas, quia id, quod conati ſunt, minime potuerunt implere. Auguſt. de conſenſ. Evangel. l. 4. c. 8.

[c] Ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἀρχόμενος καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν συγγράμματος, τὴν αἰτίαν προύθηκε, δι' ἣν πεπούηται τὴν σύνταξιν· δηλῶν, ὡς ἄρα πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων προπετέστερον ἐπιβεβηκότων διηγήσει ποιήσασθαι, &c. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 24.

ing

ing theſe words [a], puts the queſtion, *Who were thoſe men, intended by St. Luke, that took in hand to write,* &c. and anſwers, *They were falſe Apoſtles; for many ſuch had wrote Goſpels.* In the ſame opinion are the learned Eraſmus [b], Grotius [c], Father Simon [d], Bellarmin [e], Calvin [f], all aſſerting St. Luke here had no regard to St. Matthew or St. Mark, but to ſome other writers, who had not wrote as they ought to do. The learned Mr. Dodwell carries the matter further, and (if I miſtake not) does by a good argument conclude from theſe words of St. Luke, not only that he had no reference to either of theſe two Goſpels, but that he never ſaw them. What he ſaith is to this purpoſe, viz. [g] "St. "Luke, in the Preface to his hiſtory, giving this reaſon for "his writing, that he had received his accounts from thoſe "who were eye-witneſſes, plainly intimates, that the writers of "thoſe other Goſpels, which he had ſeen, were not furniſhed "with that help; ſo that neither being eye-witneſſes them-"ſelves, nor duly conſulting ſuch as were, their credit muſt "be doubtful: and thence it muſt neceſſarily follow, that the "Goſpels, which St. Luke had ſeen, were not any of thoſe we "now receive." Upon the whole, therefore, I hope I may juſtly ſay, that Mr. Whiſton has here failed in his proof; becauſe theſe words of St. Luke, having no reference to either of the Goſpels we now receive, cannot prove what Mr. Whiſton brings them for: that St. Matthew, or any of the Goſpel-writers, deſigned to obſerve the order of time in their hiſtories. But,

II. If it ſhould be allowed and taken for granted, that St. Luke in theſe words had reſpect to the Goſpels we now receive, yet there is nothing in his words, which will prove,

[a] Vid. cum ad Luc. i. 1.
[b] Annot. in N. T. ad Luc. i. 1.
[c] Annot. ad eund. loc.
[d] Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. p. 1. c. 3.
[e] De Matrimon. Sacram. l. 1. c. 6.
[f] Harmon. Evangel. in init.
[g] Et cum novæ ſcriptionis edit in Præfatione cauſam, quod ipſe αὐτόπτων narrationibus adjutus fuerit aggreſſus; id plane innuit deſtitutos hoc ſubſidio fuiſſe viſorum a ſe Evangeliorum auctores, ita nimirum non fuiſſe αὐτόπτας, ut ne quidem αὐτόπτας cum cura aliqua et ſedulitate conſuluerint, vacillare proinde meritoque dubium fuiſſe eorum fidem. Ut plane alios fuiſſe neceſſe eſt Evangelicæ Hiſtoriæ ſcriptores a Lucæ viſos, a noſtris, quos habemus, Evangelistis. Diſſert. 1. in Iren. p. 68, 69.

they were intended and wrote according to the order of time. Indeed, according to our English Translation, one would be apt to think so; *Forasmuch as many have taken in hand, to set forth in order a declaration*, &c. From the words *to set forth in order*, Mr. Whiston concludes, that these Gospels, and particularly St. Matthew's, were wrote according to the order of time; but the original word ἀνατάξασθαι implies no such thing, but only in general to *compile*, or *compose*, or *set together*, without any particular regard to the order of time, or any other order whatsoever. This is the sense Suidas and Hesychius give of the word ἀνατάξασθαι[a]; and so it is taken by the old Syriack interpreter, and the best modern translators. So Beza[b], *componere narrationem*, and Castalio, *contexere narrationem*; De Dieu, *apparare seu concinnare*; so that the whole meaning is, *Forasmuch as many have undertaken to write the history*, &c. and consequently nothing can hence be concluded, concerning the Evangelists designing to observe the *order of time* in their histories.

The three other arguments which Mr. Whiston offers, to prove the Gospels were wrote according to the order of time, p. 97, 98, 99. are so much the same, with those which are brought to prove this concerning St. Matthew in particular, that they need not be distinctly considered.

[a] Ἀνατάξασθαι, Εὐτρεπίσασθαι, i. e. apparare, instruere, componere; Εὐτρεπισμὸς, ἡ Ἑτοιμασία, Suid.

[b] Mihi vero τὸ συνταξάσθαι idem videtur generaliter declarare, atque conscribere, et concinere. Bez. ad loc.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Writers of the Goſpel-Hiſtory did not intend or obſerve the Order of Time in their Writings. This proved particularly of St. Luke by ſeveral Inſtances. The Phraſe, write in order, Luc. i. 3. *diſcuſſed.*

WHETHER the writers of the Goſpel-hiſtory did deſign to relate the ſeveral acts and circumſtances of our Saviour's life, according to that order of time, in which each of them came to paſs, is a queſtion of very conſiderable importance. Mr. Whiſton very earneſtly contends for the affirmative [a]; which indeed if it be true, it is very certain, that not only that part of St. Matthew's Goſpel, which he ſuppoſes, but alſo ſeveral parts of the other Goſpels, are in our preſent copies very much miſplaced, confuſed, and diſordered. I rather think, the Evangeliſts had not any ſuch regard to that order, but were principally concerned in relating the ſeveral matters of fact truly and faithfully. This has been the opinion of, I think, almoſt all thoſe who have conſidered this matter, both antient and later writers. *The truth is,* (ſays a learned writer [b]) *that the Apoſtles* (he means all the Evangeliſts) *had not properly any deſign in writing, but to inform us, of the doctrine and miracles of our Lord; not much regarding thoſe things, which may be thought requiſite to an exact and methodical hiſtory.* I do not ſuppoſe, that the Evangeliſts had no regard at all to the order of time, in compoſing their Goſpels. The contrary is very certain; and a bare view of Mr. Whiſton's Harmony, will ſufficiently convince any one, that, for the moſt part, each of theſe ſacred writers, not only intended to obſerve, but do exactly agree in obſerving, this order. All

[a] Prop. I.

[b] La vérité eſt, que les Apôtres n'ont eu proprement deſſein, que de nous apprendre la doctrine et les miracles de notre Seigneur, ſans ſe mettre en peine de ce que l'on demande dans une hiſtoire méthodique. Le Clerc Biblioth. choiſie, tom. 15. art. 5. p. 251.

that I contend for, is, that they do not *always* confine themſelves to this method, but very often for juſt and good reaſons inſert ſeveral particular tranſactions, not in that order in which they were done. This might be proved, beyond doubt, of every one of the Evangeliſts. But it will be ſufficient to prove it, only concerning St. Luke; becauſe his Goſpel is by Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſed to be perfectly in this order of time, and therefore he corrects St. Matthew's by it. The following inſtances will abundantly evidence the truth of what I ſay.

St. Luke, ch. iii. ver. 19, 20. relates the hiſtory of *John's impriſonment by Herod*, before the account of *our Saviour's baptiſm*, ver. 21, &c. which certainly is contrary to the order of time; Chriſt being no doubt baptized long before *John's impriſonment*; ſee Matt. iii. 13, &c. and iv. 12. Hence Mr. Whiſton himſelf has taken the liberty here to tranſpoſe theſe verſes in his Harmony, although he tells us, (pag. 100.) that he had ventured but in one inſtance (viz. that of our Lord's mother and brethren coming to him), to change the order of St. Luke.

Ch. iv. 33, &c. St. Luke relates the *hiſtory of the unclean ſpirit being caſt out of the man, in the ſynagogue at Capernaum*, and v. 38, &c. *the account of Peter's mother in law being cured of a fever*, and after theſe, ch. v. 1. *The calling of Peter and the other Apoſtles by the ſea ſide*; whereas it is very certain, that theſe Apoſtles were called before theſe miracles. And ſo this hiſtory ought, if the order of time had been obſerved, to have been placed ſooner, as both the other Evangeliſts have placed it, Matt. iv. 18, &c. compared with ch. viii. 2, &c. and 14, &c. and Mark i. 16, 30. This is ſo undeniable a proof of St. Luke's ſometimes leaving the order of time, that nothing can reaſonably be urged or objected againſt it. Indeed Mr. Whiſton, finding this ſo directly overthrowing his ſcheme, which he had before formed, was reſolved to ſay ſomething againſt it, and therefore he ſuppoſes [a], that *the hiſtory here recorded by St. Luke, is quite different from that recorded by St. Matthew,*

[a] P. 123, & 125.

and

and St. Mark. But I cannot think any one, who conſiders the matter without prejudice, can be of that opinion. The circumſtances are ſo very like, that I believe every one that reads thoſe two hiſtories, concludes them to be the ſame. I own indeed, there are ſome different circumſtances in the hiſtories, and ſo there are in almoſt every one of the ſtories, which are related by two Evangeliſts. But thoſe here are very inconſiderable, and very eaſily to be reconciled. Mr. Whiſton however has made them ſo many arguments to prove the ſtory in St. Matthew and St. Mark, and that in St. Luke to be different. I need not be at the pains diſtinctly to conſider them; Dr. Whitby[a] has in a few words ſufficiently ſhewed, that they do not prove the two different *callings* of theſe Apoſtles, which Mr. Whiſton contends for. The four firſt reaſons, by which Mr. Whiſton endeavours to prove theſe two ſtories different, are only *additional circumſtances*, mentioned by St. Luke, and not by St. Matthew nor St. Mark. The other two are really not different at all. A bare caſting the eye upon them will evidently ſhew it:

St. MATTHEW and St. MARK.	St. LUKE.
Follow me, and I will make you fiſhers of men.	*From henceforth thou ſhalt catch men.*
They left their nets, and followed him.	*They left all, and followed him.*

Are theſe ſuch *differences*, as to prove the hiſtories to be different? One would rather think theſe very circumſtances to be the ſame; and if ſo, it is plain, that St. Luke did not always deſign to obſerve the order of time in his hiſtory.

Another inſtance to the ſame purpoſe, (viz. of St. Luke's not obſerving the order of time in the ſtories which he relates) we have, ch. viii. 19, 20, 21. where he places the hiſtory *of our Lord's mother and brethren, after the parable of the ſower*, which begins at ver. 4. of that chapter, but according to the

[a] Annot. on Matt. iv. 18. vid. & Spanheim. Dub. Evang. tom. 3. Dub. 72.

other Evangeliſts, viz. St. Matthew and St. Mark, it is evident this account ſhould have been before this parable, if the order of time had been obſerved; ſee Matt. xii. 46, &c. and xiii. 1, &c. and Mark iii. 31, &c. and iv. 1, &c. Hence Mr. Whiſton has in this inſtance alſo, receded from St. Luke's order in his Harmony [a].

Theſe, were there no other, ſeem to be ſufficient arguments to prove, that St. Luke did not confine himſelf always ſtrictly, to relate the acts and circumſtances of our Saviour's life, in the ſame order, in which they came to paſs. That which induced Mr. Whiſton [b], as well as many others, to the contrary opinion, are thoſe words in St. Luke's preface, c. i. ver. 3. where he ſays, he deſigned, καθεξῆς γράψαι, *to write in order*. But to this it may be anſwered, that it is not at all neceſſary this word ſhould be thus tranſlated; it may be as well rendered *particularly*, *ſerie perpetua*; ſo it is certain the word commonly ſignifies, and the beſt criticks have taken it in this ſenſe. "They are miſtaken (ſays Grotius [c]), who conclude from this word, that St. Luke deſigned more cloſely "to obſerve the order of time, than the others had done before him; for on the contrary it is evident, that he more "than once relates things of the ſame nature together, though "they were done at different times. Καθεξῆς means nothing "more than *particularly*, as is plain from the uſe of the word "Acts xi. 4. and xviii. 23. So that St. Luke's meaning here is no more than this, *My deſign is to write to thee a* particular *account of the things done by Chriſt*. But if after all καθεξῆς γράψαι ſhould be tranſlated to *write in order*, why muſt it needs regard the order of time more than any other order? Are there not ſeveral other orders and methods of writing made uſe of by hiſtorians, beſides this? viz. ſuch as placing actions and diſcourſes of a like nature together, or things which were done at the *ſame place*, though not at the

[a] P. 287, & 289.

[b] P. 97. & 114.

[c] Falluntur, qui hinc colligunt propoſitum Lucæ *temporum ordinem* prælius ſequi, quam alii ante ipſum feciſſent; nam contra apparet, illum non ſemel ob rerum cohærentiam connexuiſſe, quæ temporibus erant diſcreta. Sed καθεξῆς nil aliud eſt quam *ſyllatim*, ut videre eſt Act. xi. 4. & xviii. 23. (Grot. ad Luc. i. 3.

ſame

ſame time. An hiſtorian may be very properly ſaid to write in order, who does not exactly obſerve the order of time.

But if we ſuppoſe further, that St. Luke by the word καθεξῆς did intend the order of time; why muſt he be ſuppoſed to limit and confine himſelf to it, in every particular branch of his hiſtory, ſo that he could not, when he ſaw a juſt occaſion, recede from it? He may be well ſaid to write in the order of time, who doth ſo for the moſt part. And hence it is excellently obſerved by our late Engliſh critick[a]; that, "It being "certain, that St. Luke in his Goſpel doth not give us "Chriſt's miracles, ſermons, and journeys, in that order of "time, in which they were done and ſpoken: it remains, "that, when he promiſed to write καθεξῆς *in order*, we under-"ſtand this of Chriſt's conception, birth, circumciſion, bap-"tiſm, preaching, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion, of which "he truly writes in order." Upon the whole, then, I conclude, that St. Luke in writing his Goſpel did not deſign exactly to obſerve the order of time, and conſequently alſo, that St. Mark did not; becauſe, according to Mr. Whiſton[b], he every where agrees with St. Luke: and ſo Mr. Whiſton's argument, to prove St. Matthew originally obſerved the order of time, viz. *becauſe other Goſpel writers did ſo*, is plainly inſufficient.

[a] Dr. Whitby, Annot. on Luc. i. 3. [b] P. 114.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Practice of other Hiſtorians, as well as the Evangeliſts, to neglect the Order of Time. Several Inſtances out of the Old Teſtament Hiſtory. Inſtances out of Profane Authors. Several Reaſons, why the Evangeliſts neglect the Order of Time.

HOWEVER ſtrange it may ſeem to ſome, that theſe ſacred writers ſhould thus diſregard the order of time, and conſequently differ ſo much from each other; yet this will not at all derogate from their honour and authority, if the matter be duly and impartially conſidered. For as this is very often, upon many accounts, undoubtedly the beſt way of writing hiſtory, ſo it has been the practice of the beſt hiſtorians, both ſacred and profane, in all ages and countries. Mr. Whiſton indeed tells us, that thoſe who do not take his method, and ſuppoſe St. Matthew's Goſpel in our preſent copies miſplaced, *are forced on another method, which plainly implies the frequent inaccuracy, if not falſehood, of the inſpired writers themſelves*[a]. This is a very hard charge indeed, which at once falls upon all the harmonizers and commentators of the Goſpels, that ever wrote before Mr. Whiſton. It is ſtrange that all theſe good men, who had ſo great a veneration for inſpired writers, ſhould thus charge the Evangeliſts with *inaccuracies*, if not *falſehood*; Mr. Whiſton will agree with me, they had none of them this deſign, and then I am not afraid to aſſert, that no ſuch thing follows from *the method they took, to reconcile the Evangeliſts*.

The ſubſtance of their charge amounts to no more than this, viz. That they ſuppoſe the Evangeliſts, not to have *always*, and *in every particular inſtance*, obſerved the order of time; but this is ſo far from ſuppoſing an *inaccuracy* or *falſehood* in the Evangeliſts, that it is only ſuppoſing them to have

[a] P. 112.

taken

taken the beſt method, and the method the beſt hiſtorians have taken, before and ſince their time.

For the clearing of this matter, I will endeavour to ſhew:

I. *That this is a thing very common in the hiſtory of the Old Teſtament.*

II. *That it has been the practice of the beſt profane hiſtorians.*

III. *Offer ſome reaſons, why the Evangeliſts neglected the* order of time.

I. *The writers of the hiſtory of the Old Teſtament very frequently deviate from the order of time, in relating ſeveral branches of their hiſtory; ſometimes placing them much* ſooner, *ſometimes much* later, *than the time, in which they really came to paſs.* This was very remarkably the practice of that beſt and moſt accurate of all hiſtorians, Moſes. For inſtance,

Gen. xxv. 7, 8, 9. He places the *death of Abraham* before the birth of Iſaac's two ſons, Eſau and Jacob, ver. 24, 25, &c. whereas it is very certain, that Abraham was alive when they were born, aud lived at leaſt *fifteen years* afterwards, as will appear by the following account.

Abraham was a *hundred years* old, when his ſon Iſaac was born, Gen. xxi. 5. Iſaac was *threeſcore years* old, when his ſons Eſau and Jacob were born, ch. xxv. 26. therefore Abraham was but a *hundred and threeſcore* at their birth. But Abraham lived till he was a hundred and ſeventy five, ch. xxv. 7. and therefore it is evident, that the death of Abraham is placed at leaſt fifteen years too ſoon, being placed before the birth of Eſau and Jacob; whereas if the order of time had been obſerved, it muſt have been placed at leaſt fifteen years afterwards.

The ſame may be obſerved alſo, concerning the hiſtorian's placing his account of the death of Iſaac, Gen. xxxv. 28, 29. It is placed *before the ſelling of Joſeph into Egypt by his brethren*, ch. xxxvii. whereas, if the order of time had been obſerved, it ought to have been placed *after*; it being certain,

that

that Iſaac lived at leaſt *twelve years* after that time, as will appear by the following account.

Joſeph was *thirty years* old, when he was advanced by Pharaoh in Egypt, Gen. xli. 46. After this there came *ſeven years of plenty*, ver. 47, 53. and *two years of famine*, before Jacob came down to Egypt, ch. xlv. 6. So that Joſeph was at leaſt *thirty nine years* old, when Jacob his father came down to Egypt; Jacob, when he came down to Egypt, was a *hundred and thirty years* old, ch. xlvii. 9. Now from the time of Joſeph's being ſold by his brethren, till this time, (viz. till his 39th year) were *twenty two* years, becauſe he was ſold in his *ſeventeenth* year, ch. xxxvii. 2. If then we take the *twenty two* years, which Joſeph was in Egypt, from the *hundred and thirty* of Jacob; it is plain that Jacob was a *hundred and eight*, when Joſeph was *ſeventeen*, and conſequently, when Joſeph was ſold to Egypt, Iſaac was no more than *a hundred and ſixty eight*; for Jacob (who was at this time but *a hundred and eight*) was born, when Iſaac was *ſixty years* old, ch. xxv. 26. Now Iſaac lived till he was *a hundred and eighty years old*, ch. xxxv. 28. and conſequently *twelve years* after Joſeph was ſold into Egypt. So that it is evident, the account of Iſaac's death is not placed according to the order of time, but at leaſt twelve years ſooner, than that order required.

Another very remarkable inſtance to the ſame purpoſe, viz. of the author of the book of Geneſis not obſerving the order of time in his hiſtory, we have ch. xxxviii. The ſeveral matters there related, are placed between the account of *Joſeph's being ſold into Egypt*, and *his advancement before Pharaoh*. This interval, or ſpace of time, conſiſts of no more than thirteen years; for Joſeph was ſold in his ſeventeenth, and advanced in his thirtieth year. Now upon a cloſe conſideration of the circumſtances of the hiſtory, it will appear morally impoſſible, that all the ſeveral matters, related in that chapter, ſhould have come to paſs in that time, as will be evident by juſt naming them.

Firſt, Judah leaves his father's family, and marries, and ſucceſſively begat three ſons, Er, Onan, and Shelah. When the eldeſt came to age, he married Tamar; ſome time after

the

the Lord ſlew him, and Onan the ſecond brother married his widow; after his death ſhe continued a conſiderable time a widow, expecting the time, when the third ſon would be grown up and marry her. He grows up, but refuſes to marry her; therefore ſhe plays the harlot with her father in law Judah, and by him ſhe hath two ſons. And all this muſt have been in leſs than the ſpace of thirteen years, unleſs we ſuppoſe the hiſtorian not to have obſerved the order of time; which certainly he did not, a great part of what is here related, having undoubtedly come to paſs, a conſiderable time before Joſeph was ſold into Egypt[a].

Theſe are inſtances ſufficient to prove, that though the Evangeliſts did not always confine themſelves to obſerve the order of time, yet they had the example of the beſt hiſtorian in the world, to juſtify their practice in neglecting it.

Nor was this only the practice of Moſes, but of moſt, if not all, the writers of the ſacred hiſtory of the Old Teſtament. There is a noted example of this in the book of Judges, *the laſt five chapters* of which hiſtory ought, if the order of time had been obſerved, to have been placed near the beginning of it. The ſtory of *Micah's idolatry*, and *the expedition of the tribe of Dan*, ch. xvii. and xviii. *of the Levite's concubine, and the war on her account*, ch. xix. xx. and xxi. are each of them placed above 200 years too late, which is eaſy enough to be proved. Hence Joſephus has placed the *hiſtory of the three laſt chapters*, before *the hiſtory of the Judges*[b], and the Old Hebrew Chronologer[c] has placed *the ſtory of Micah*, and *the tribe of Dan's idolatry*, and *the ſtory of the Levite's concubine* in the time of Othniel, the firſt of the Judges; and, as far as I can find, moſt chronologers and commentators are of the ſame mind[d].

[a] Quomodo ergo hæc omnia intra tam paucos annos fieri potuerint, merito movet; niſi, ut forte ſolet, ſcriptura per recapitulationem, aliquot annos ante venditum Joſeph, hoc fieri cæpiſſe intelligi velit, &c. Auguſt. Quæſt. Sup. Gen. l. 1. c. 128.

[b] Antiq. Jud. lib. 5. c. 2.

[c] Seder Olam Rabba, c. 20. p. 50.

[d] Dr. Lightfoot Chronic. and Harmon. of the Old Teſt. on Judges, &c. Uſher Chronol. Sacr. p. 199. Petav. Rationar. Temp. l. 1. c. 6. Junius ad Jud. 17. 1. Spanheim. Hiſt. Eccl. V. T. Epoch. 4. c. 10.

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The ſtory of *Shimei's death*, 1 Kings ii. 39. &c. is evidently placed three years too ſoon in the hiſtory.

Abundance of other ſuch inſtances might be collected out of the hiſtorical books, were it neceſſary. Thoſe that have a mind to ſee them, may conſult Dr. Lightfoot[a] and Uſher[b], &c. I would only add, that this has been a very antient and common obſervation; and that for this purpoſe the famous ſixth rule of Ticonius[c], called *Recapitulatio*, was invented. But,

II. This is not a practice peculiar to the ſacred writers, *but made uſe of by all hiſtorians*. The moſt accurate and exact among thoſe, who are called profane writers, have taken this liberty in compoſing their hiſtories. Livy, Plutarch, Tacitus, Suetonius, Florus, &c. have all upon particular occaſions neglected the exact order of time. Suetonius, for inſtance, is very frequent in this practice; continually laying matters of a like nature together, without regard to the order of time, in which they were done. In the Life of Auguſtus he expreſsly tells us, it was his deſign to do ſo[d]: "not to confine himſelf to "ſtrict chronology, or the order of time, in which the ſeveral "things were done; but inſtead of being punctual to the "time, join actions of a like nature together, that ſo they "might be more clearly perceived and known." This any one, who reads his memoirs of Auguſtus's life, will perceive he has done, juſt as St. Matthew and the other Evangeliſts, in writing the memoirs of our Saviour's life.

To the ſame purpoſe Lucius Florus[e] intimates, "That he "would not obſerve the ſtrict order of time; but that the

[a] Lib. jam cit.

[b] Chronol. Sacr.

[c] Apud Auguſt. de Doct. Chriſt. l. 3. c. 36.

[d] Propoſita vitæ ejus velut ſumma, partes ſigillatim, neque per tempora, ſed per ſpecies, exſequar; quo diſtinctius demonſtrari cognoſcique poſſint. Suetonius in Auguſt. c. 9.

Sic ſolent ſcriptores—*per ſpecies exſequi*, i. e. ſecundum actiones et genera, narrare ſtatum et conditionem vitæ. Sic cum narramus, quæ quis publice, quæ privatim, quæ fortiter, quæ moderate, quæ ſerio, quæ jocoſe egerit, non obſervato annorum ordine. Pitiſc. ad Loc.

[e] Quæ etſi involuta inter ſe ſunt omnia atque confuſa, tamen, quo melius appareant, ſimul et ne ſcelera virtutibus obſtrepant, ſeparatim proferentur, &c. L. Flor. lib. 2. c. 19.

"things

" things he ſhould relate might the better appear, he would " relate them diſtinctly and ſeparately, &c." If then other writers, ſacred and profane, have ſo very frequently neglected this order, we need not be ſurprized, that St. Matthew and the other Evangeliſts have done ſo too; eſpecially when we conſider, that it is only in a few inſtances, that they have done it, and then *for the moſt part*, if not *always*, ſome good reaſon may be aſſigned, why they have done ſo. This leads me,

III. To conſider, *Why, and for what reaſons, the Evangeliſts receded from the order of time, in their hiſtories.*

I ſhall not be at the pains to conſider all the ſeveral branches of their hiſtories, in which this order is neglected, and ſhew the *particular occaſions* why they are placed as they are; all that I deſign, is to mention ſome general *cauſes or occaſions* of their relating things in a different order, from that in which they were done, and particularly,

1. *Sometimes the Evangeliſts relate thoſe facts together, which were done at a different time, becauſe they were done in the ſame place.* It ſeemed a very good expedient to aſſiſt the memory, ſometimes to relate the ſeveral miracles our Saviour wrought at one place together, though they were done at different times. So, *the healing of the leprous perſon*; *the cure of the centurion's ſervant*; *the recovering of Peter's mother-in-law*, are placed immediately one after another by St. Matthew, ch. viii. from ver. 2, to the 16th, becauſe each of theſe miracles was wrought at Capernaum, though at different times. " Hence (ſays Dr. Lightfoot) the mention of a place " doth oftentimes occaſion theſe holy penmen to ſpeak of ſtories " out of their proper time, becauſe they would take up the whole " ſtory of that place all at once, or together [a]." For this reaſon it is, that St. Luke places the hiſtory of *the unclean ſpirit being caſt out of the man in the ſynagogue at Capernaum*, ch. iv. 33, &c. and the account of *Peter's mother-in-law being cured of a fever*, ver. 39, &c. before *the call of the Apoſtles by the ſea-ſide*, ch. v. 1. (which has been proved [b] to be contrary to the order of

[a] Lightfoot, Harmon. of the New Teſt. §. 20.
[b] P. 30.

time);

time); viz. becauſe having mentioned our Lord's being and preaching at Capernaum (ver. 31.) he had a mind to record together the miracles our Lord did there, though done at another time.

2. Another reaſon, why the Evangeliſts ſometimes place a fact out of its proper order of time, is, *becauſe they having been ſpeaking of the perſon concerned in it before, had a mind there to finiſh all they deſigned to ſay of him.* So, for inſtance, the ſtory of John the Baptiſt's being impriſoned by Herod, Luke iii. 19, 20. (which has been proved not to be in the order of time) was placed where it is, becauſe the Evangeliſt, having before been giving an account of John's miniſtry, and not deſigning to ſay much more of him, had a mind here to finiſh his whole ſtory together. This is ſo far from being any fault in a hiſtory, that it is really oftentimes the beſt and moſt accurate way of writing it; becauſe by a ſtrict and conſtant adherence to the order of time, there muſt neceſſarily be *continual breaches* and *frequent interruptions* in the hiſtory. Stories muſt be often brought in without any connection or coherence, and conſequently are not ſo like to be remembered [a]. It may therefore be ſometimes much better that the whole ſtory of a perſon or thing be told together, though ſome other things intervene, which are told afterwards. For this reaſon, we may obſerve, the inſpired penman of the book of Geneſis has placed the death of Iſaac (ch. xxxv. 28, 29.) ſo much too ſoon, as it has been above proved to be [b], viz. becauſe having, ver. 27. given an account of his ſon Jacob's coming to him to Hebron, and deſigning to ſay no more concerning his life, but to proceed to the hiſtory of his poſterity; it ſeemed very proper there to mention his death, that he might not be forced elſewhere to bring it in, by any breach or interruption in his hiſtory [c]. For the

[a] Facilius cujuſque rei in unum *contracta ſpecies, quàm diviſa temporibus, oculis animoque inhæret.* *Velleii. Paterc.* 1. 14.

[b] *P.* 36.

[c] *Conſtat ante mortem Iſaaci venditum fuiſſe Joſephum, cum tamen* hanc hiſtoriam (ſc. Joſephi) Moſes *poſtobitum et ſepulturam recitet: ut neceſſario concedenda ſit hyſterologia, cujus ratio hæc fuit; quia poſt adventum Jacobi in Hebron, nihil amplius de vita Iſaaci vellet narrare Moſes, et ad ea, quæ de Jacobo Patriarcha*

the ſame reaſon alſo is the ſtory of Shimei's death placed too ſoon, 1 Kings ii. 39. that the whole ſtory of him might be finiſhed at once, and not brought in without any connection, as it muſt neceſſarily have been, if it had been placed afterwards.

3. It is not at all abſurd or unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, *that divine Wiſdom ordered it to be thus, to prevent all ſuſpicion of the Evangeliſts' writing in concert, or by combination, with deſign to impoſe upon the world.* Chriſtianity was looked upon at firſt, by many, as a deluſion, and the authors of theſe ſacred books as cheats and impoſtors. Againſt this the Chriſtians commonly argued, that, if the writers of the Goſpel-hiſtory had had any ſuch deſigns, they would not have ſo many things, which ſeem contrary to each other. The reaſoning of Chryſoſtom on this head is ſo very juſt, that it well deſerves tranſcribing [a]. He brings in a perſon making this objection, that the *Evangeliſts do not agree in their accounts.* To this he anſwers; "Their not agreeing in every particular, is a full "demonſtration of their truth; for if they had in all things "agreed with a perfect exactneſs, both as to time, and place, "and words, none of our adverſaries but would have believed "that they met together, and wrote by compact and conſent "to deceive: but now that difference there ſeems to be be-"tween them in theſe ſmaller matters, defends them from all "ſuch ſuſpicion, &c." Such arguing ſeems to be very juſt; and if it be, what is there abſurd in ſuppoſing, that divine Wiſdom ordered theſe little differences, thoſe in reſpect of time among others, for this good end? "The Holy Spirit," ſays a learned man, "influenced the Evangeliſts to write many

triarcha notanda acciderent, pergere deliberaſſet, hiſtoriam Iſaaci operæ pretium judicavit concludere per ſortem ipſius, &c. Rivet. Exercit. 144. Gen.

[a] Πολλαχῶ γὰρ διαφωνοῦντες ἐλέγχονται. Αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο μέγιστον δεῖγμα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστίν. Εἰ γὰρ πάντα συνεφώνησαν μετὰ ἀκριβείας, καὶ μέχρι καιροῦ, καὶ μέχρι τόπου, καὶ μέχρι ῥημάτων αὐτῶν, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπίστευσε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὅτι μὴ συνελθόντες ἀπὸ συνθήκης τινὸς ἀνθρωπίνης ἔγραψαν—Νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα ἐν μικροῖς εἶναι διαφωνία πάσης ἀπαλλάττει αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, &c. Chryſoſtom. Homil. in Matth. i. Idem vid. apud Theophylact. Præfat. in Matth.

" things in a different order, that they might not ſeem to have " wrote by compact, or to have borrowed one from another [a]."

4. Mr. Whiſton has furniſhed me with another reaſon, why the Evangeliſts are thus different from one another, and do not obſerve the ſame order in relating the ſeveral acts of our Saviour's life. " It ought not (ſays he) [b] to ſeem ſtrange, if " that book, which contains the revealed will of God, be ſo " framed, as to have divers ſeeming contradictions in it, for " the perplexing the ungodly, and the exerciſe of the pious." This obſervation of Mr. Whiſton's, is what ſeveral other learned men have upon this and other occaſions made [c], and is, if true, a very good reaſon, why the Evangeliſts were not ſo very exact, in obſerving the order of time in their hiſtories.

Thus I have endeavoured to juſtify the practice of the Evangeliſts, in relating things in a different order from that in which they came to paſs, both by ſhewing it was the practice of the beſt hiſtorians, and by ſeveral other reaſons. I only add, that, as it has been already proved concerning St. Luke [d], *that he did not tell us* he deſigned to obſerve the exact order of time, ſo it is certain *no one of the Evangeliſts has told us ſo*; and if they did not engage and promiſe to obſerve this order, certainly they are not to be accuſed of falſehood in not obſerving it. Hence the learned Dr. Hammond [e] well obſerved, " That all theſe, and (if there were) many more [*differences*] " do nothing derogate from the fidelity of the writers; who, " undertaking to make ſome relations of what was done by " Chriſt, do no where undertake, nor oblige themſelves, to ob- " ſerve the order wherein every thing ſucceeded, that being " generally extrinſical, and of no importance to the rela- " tions."

[a] Voluit vero Spiritus Sanctus diverſo ordine multa ab Evangeliſtis narrari;—ne vel ex compacto, vel collatis capitibus, ſcripſiſſe, vel ſua a ſe invicem deſcripſiſſe viderentur, &c. Spanheim. Dub. Evang. tom. iii. Dub. 69.

[b] Chronolog. of the Old Teſt. p. 3.

[c] Multa diverſo ordine ab Evangeliſtis narrari voluit Spiritus Sanctus, exercendæ et ſubigendæ fidei noſtræ, &c. cauſa. Spanheim. Dub. Evang. tom. iii. Dub. 69.

[d] P. 24, &c.

[e] Annot. on Mark v. 21.

And

And to the ſame purpoſe, it is well remarked by the author juſt now cited [a], "That no one can charge that writer with "a falſehood or contradiction, for relating things in a different "order from that in which they came to paſs, if he did not "before-hand engage to obſerve that order." The principal thing theſe ſacred writers were concerned about, was *truth*, to be faithful and juſt in the accounts they gave us; and this indeed is the moſt neceſſary requiſite, and beſt character of an hiſtorian. Hence Lucian, in his excellent directions for writing hiſtory, tells us [b], "The one thing moſt peculiarly re-"quiſite to hiſtory, is *truth*. If any go about to write a hiſ-"tory, he muſt principally regard truth, not concerning him-"ſelf about any thing elſe."

CHAP. V.

Mr. Whiſton's ſecond Argument conſidered. It does not follow, that becauſe St. Matthew for the moſt part obſerved the Order of Time, therefore he did in every Particular. The third Argument diſcuſſed. The Notes of Time Mr. Whiſton mentions, do not prove the Order of Time.

THE ſecond argument, which Mr. Whiſton makes uſe of to prove, that St. Matthew originally obſerved the order of time through his whole Goſpel, is, *becauſe he does ſo in the greateſt part of his Goſpel.* After what hath been ſaid in the two former chapters, there ſeems very little neceſſary to be ſaid in anſwer to this. I agree with Mr. Whiſton, that St.

[a] Immo nemo mendacii vel contradictionis inſimulaverit illum, qui eadem diverſo ordine recitat, modo non præfertur ſe ordinem relaturum, æque ac res ipſas. Spanheim. Dub. Evang. tom. iii. Dub. 56.

[b] Ἓν γὰρ τοῦτο (ſcil. ἀλήθεια) ἴδιον ἱστορίας, καὶ μόνῃ δυτέον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, εἴ τις ἱστορίαν γράψων ἴοι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀμελητέον αὐτῷ, &c. Lucian. de Conſcrib. Hiſtor. §. 39. Hiſtoricus itaque, ſi ad verum et fidem de re propoſita retulerit, officio ſuo ſatisfeciſſe exiſtimabitur. Iſaac. Pontan. Orat. Hagog. ad L. Flor. p. 1.

Matthew (and ſo indeed each of the other Evangeliſts) does for the moſt part exactly obſerve the order of time; yet it will by no means follow, that that inſpired writer was always ſo confined to a ſtrict obſervance of this order, that he could upon no occaſions whatſoever depart from it. Several reaſons have been aſſigned, upon the account of which an hiſtorian may ſometimes deviate from this order, though for the moſt part he ſtrictly obſerve it. And it has been proved, that St. Luke ſometimes relates things in a different order from that in which they came to paſs, though for the moſt part he exactly obſerves the order of time. Mr. Whiſton's argument therefore, that becauſe St. Matthew for the moſt part writes in this order, therefore he does never recede from it, will not hold.

Mr. Whiſton's laſt argument, by which he endeavours to prove, that St. Matthew originally obſerved the order of time through his whole Goſpel, is, that *the notes of the order of time, and coherence of parts, are as many in that part which is now diſordered and miſplaced, as in that which is regular and in its proper order.* It is true indeed, thoſe which Mr. Whiſton has here collected, and calls *notes of the order of time*, are as frequent in this as any other part of the Goſpel; but then theſe are ſuch which are only (if they may be ſo called) *notes of tranſition*, generally inſerted by the hiſtorian *only for the ſake of connecting the ſeveral ſtories together, and not to denote the regular ſucceſſion of the facts related.* They are moſt of them ſuch as can only relate to the ſtory that follows them, and do not at all connect it with that foregoing. This will appear by a very ſlight conſideration of them: they are ſuch as theſe: Ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καθίσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσελθόντι δὲ καὶ ἐλθὼν καὶ προσελθών &c. *and ſeeing*; *and opening his mouth*; *and coming down from the mountain*; *and behold*; *and as he was entering*; *and coming*, &c. Is it not evident that theſe, and ſuch as theſe, are deſigned only for the better tranſition from one ſtory to another? Is it not very plain that they regard only the ſubſequent ſtory? For inſtance, Ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ Ἰδοὺ *and when Jeſus ſaw*; *and behold*; have theſe phraſes any reference at all to what goes before? Do they intimate that the next fact related, was immediately in

order

order of time after that which was before related? Let us ſuppoſe the ſtory, to which one of theſe notes is prefixed, a conſiderable time after that which immediately precedes it in the hiſtory, might not the hiſtorian very properly prefix one of theſe notes to it? Might he not ſay, καὶ ἰδὼν, or καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, *and Jeſus ſeeing*, or *coming*, did ſuch or ſuch a thing, only regarding what he was about to tell, without the leaſt reſpect to what he had ſaid before? Nay, let us go further, and ſuppoſe one of thoſe notes prefixed to a ſtory, which in the order of time was before that which it immediately ſucceeds, yet would the prefixing of ſuch a note be very proper. For inſtance, to the ſermon on the Mount (Mat v. 2.) is prefixed καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ (which is one of Mr. Whiſton's notes of the order of time) *and he opened his mouth.* Might not this note be very well prefixed to our Saviour's preaching, although the ſermon, in the order of time, were really before that which immediately precedes it in the hiſtory? The ſame may be proved of almoſt every one of theſe notes, which Mr. Whiſton has here mentioned, if it were neceſſary.

The truth is, it is a common thing in all hiſtories to make uſe of ſuch *tranſitory* or *introductory* phraſes as theſe; nay even of thoſe which ſeem moſt to imply an immediate and orderly ſucceſſion of events, *in a very great latitude.* So for inſtance, Gen. xxxviii. 1. immediately after the account of Joſeph's being ſold into Egypt, it follows, *at that time Judah went down from his brethren*, &c. when as it is certain this happened a *conſiderable time before Joſeph's being ſold into Egypt* [a]. Hence, ſays Dr. Lightfoot [b], "The words *at that time* are not to be referred to the next words going before in the preceding chapter, concerning Joſeph's ſale to Potiphar, but are of *a more large extent*; as that phraſe, and the phraſe *in thoſe days*, are oft in Scripture." It is a trite obſervation among the writers of ſacred chronology, that theſe phraſes in Scripture are frequently uſed with a great deal of latitude. It has been obſerved, that this phraſe, *In that day or time*, is uſed *ſixteen* times in the Old and New Teſtament in a lax ſenſe, and not im-

[a] See above, p. 36.

[b] Harmon. and Chronic. of the Old Teſt. Gen. c. xxxviii.

plying a regular ſucceſſion of events[a]. So the words Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, Matt. iii. 1. are put to introduce the hiſtory, which is next to Chriſt's fixing at Nazareth; which was about thirty years after. Upon the whole then, if this be the uſe of moſt of theſe notes, only to introduce the following ſtory, if thoſe which ſeem moſt to be notes of time regard principally what follows, and are uſed in ſuch a lax ſenſe; then they do not prove, that this part of St. Matthew's Goſpel was originally wrote according to the order of time.

Thus I have conſidered Mr. Whiſton's firſt aſſertion, viz. *That St. Matthew deſigned originally to obſerve the order of time through his whole Goſpel*, and have endeavoured to ſhew that the ſeveral arguments he brings to ſupport it, are not concluſive.

[a] Locutionem autem illam *(in tempore illo,)* eodem modo in Deuter. x. 8. uſurpari notat Aben. Ezra; quomodo et ab aliis eſt obſervatum, *in die illo*, ſine determinata aliqua temporis notatione, ſedecies in Veteri et Novo Teſtamento eſſe poſitum: hocque ipſo in loco, *in tempore illo*, non ad illud, quo in Egyptum venditus eſt Joſephus, ſed quo ipſe Judas in Cananæam cum Patre advenit, referendum eſſe deſendimus. Uſſer. Chronol. Sacr. c. 10. Vid. Spanheim. Dub. Evang. tom. ii. Dub. 10, et 95.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Mr. Whiſton's Proof of the main Propoſition conſidered. It ſuppoſes St. Mark's Goſpel an Epitome of St. Matthew's. This the Opinion of moſt learned Men, but certainly falſe. That St. Mark is not an Epitome of St. Matthew, proved, Firſt, from the Account given in Antiquity of the Manner and Occaſion of his Writing, viz. *that he wrote at Rome from St. Peter's Mouth. The Teſtimonies out of Antiquity produced. Two Obſervations from Scripture to ſupport theſe Teſtimonies.*

MR. Whiſton having attempted to prove, that St. Matthew, in this part of his Goſpel, deſigned to obſerve the order of time, proceeds to ſhew, *that the ſeveral branches of the hiſtory in this part, are not according to the order of time.* But before he comes to a particular proof of this, he ſays, *He will in general prove the main propoſition by the moſt authentick evidence,* viz. *the teſtimony of St. Mark* [a]. This indeed, if it be any evidence at all, will be moſt authentick and indiſputable. Let us a little conſider it.

" St. Mark (ſays Mr. Whiſton) was the epitomizer of St. " Matthew—gives us ſuch an account of our Saviour's Acts, " as demonſtrates that St. Matthew's Goſpel lay then before " him, and was the almoſt only guide he followed in his hiſ- " tory. Now ſuppoſing this (ſays he), it will follow, that " either that copy of St. Matthew, which St. Mark made uſe " of, was in a different order from that which we now have " (in the chapters under conſideration), or elſe that he knew " the order of his copy to be wrong, and contrary to the ori- " ginal one, and ſo reduced it in his epitome to the true and " regular ſeries of events, which he learned from St. Peter. " Now either of theſe is ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe; for " it is evident, that St. Mark does not obſerve the order of the " preſent copies of St. Matthew (whom he epitomizes), in that " part we are ſpeaking of, &c." This now is St. Mark's teſti-

[a] P. 102.

mony, and Mr. Whiſton's *moſt convincing argument*, of the truth of the propoſition, viz. *that the former part of St. Matthew's Goſpel, in our preſent copies, is not now in its true and firſt intended order.*

However ſpecious and plauſible this argument may at firſt appear, I doubt not but every unbiaſſed mind, after a more cloſe examination, will be very far from thinking it concluſive and convincing. The two following conſiderations will ſufficiently invalidate the force of this reaſoning, viz.

I. *St. Mark did not epitomize or abridge St. Matthew's Goſpel, nor had he it lying before him, when he wrote.*

II. *Suppoſe St. Mark did abridge, and make uſe of St. Matthew's Goſpel in compoſing his, yet it will not follow either that the copies he then uſed were, or our preſent copies now, are miſplaced, and out of the order originally intended by St. Matthew.*

I. *St. Mark did not epitomize or abridge St. Matthew's Goſpel, nor had he it lying before him, when he wrote.* In undertaking to prove this, I am very well aware, that I oppoſe the ſentiments of learned men in all ages of the church: antient and modern writers have almoſt all, with one common conſent, voted and agreed St. Mark's Goſpel to be an epitome of St. Matthew's.

Auſtin [a], among the antients, and among later writers Eraſmus [b], Sixtus Senenſis [c], Alſted [d], Grotius [e], Spanheim [f], Toinard [g], and many others, aſſert it. Nay, Eraſmus [h] in another place has carried the matter ſomewhat further, and by a certain likeneſs, which he imagined he obſerved in the ſtyle and idiom of theſe two Goſpels (contrary to all antiquity, and even to himſelf in the place firſt cited), is induced to believe *they both were wrote by the ſame perſon.*

[a] Marcus Matthæum ſubſecutus tanquam pediſſequus et brevior ejus videtur. Aug. de Conſenſ. Evang. l. 1. c. 2.

[b] Annot. in Nov. Teſt. ad Marc. i. 1.

[c] Biblioth. Sanct. l. 1. ad voc. Marc.

[d] Præcognit. Theolog. l. 2. p. 263.

[e] Annot. ad Marc. i. 1.

[f] Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Secul. I. c. 6.

[g] Prolegom. in Harm. Evang. p. 4.

[h] Eraſmus, in Apolog. contra Albertum Carporum Principem, ſcribit, eundem fuiſſe utriuſque Evangelii ſcriptorem. Vid. Sixt. Senenſ. l. 7. de Marci Evangelio.

But

But notwithſtanding this ſo univerſal agreement of learned men in this matter, I am not afraid to undertake the defence of the contrary opinion. It is no new or uncommon thing for the bulk of criticks and commentators to agree in an error. An opinion that is plauſible, and has ſome appearance of probability, firſt ſtarted by a perſon of reputation, and uſhered into the world under ſome great name, is very often univerſally received, and for a long time entertained as an unqueſtionable truth, though all the while it be really falſe: but if in proceſs of time it has the good fortune to be eſpouſed by more men of reputation and character, for ſenſe and learning, it then acquires a ſort of ſanctity, and, through I know not what ſort of fearfulneſs, men dare not ſo much as ſuſpect or call in queſtion the truth of a propoſition, which has been believed by almoſt all learned men. This I verily believe was the caſe, in reſpect of the point we are now upon. Auſtin, and ſome others of reputation, firſt ſtarted it: to others, who would not be at the pains of examining into the truth of it, it ſeemed plauſible, and ſo they received it. And by this means many learned men ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon, taking that for truth, which they certainly had rejected as falſe, had they but ventured ſtrictly and cloſely to examine it. But numbers are no evidence of truth, and (as Mr. Whiſton well obſerves in another place [a]) *a common opinion without a ſolid foundation, is of no great value.* He that heartily and in good earneſt ſeeks after truth, muſt not ſuffer himſelf to be impreſſed either with the *number*, or *reputation* of thoſe, who think otherwiſe than he does. It was a noble reſolution of Seneca's [b], "That he "would obſtinately perſiſt in the ſearch of truth; not making "his underſtanding a ſlave to any man's, nor giving in to "any opinion, only becauſe it was publiſhed under a great "name."

I ſhall therefore endeavour to prove this *common opinion* (viz. that St. Mark epitomized St. Matthew) *falſe*; and I ſhall take the more pains in the matter, not only becauſe I ſhall

[a] Chronol. of the Old Teſtam. p. 16.

[b] Verum—contumaciter quæram; non enim me cuiquam mancipavi, nullius nomen fero, &c. Sen. Epiſt. 45.

thereby

thereby invalidate Mr. Whiſton's *moſt authentick evidence*, but ſet a matter in a clear light, which (as far as I can find) no one yet has attempted to do, and ſo withal recover the honour of this Goſpel (viz. St. Mark's), which has ſo long lain under this hard and injurious charge, *of being extracted, and compiled out of St. Matthew.* And,

1. It is very evident, that St. Mark's Goſpel is not an epitome of St. Matthew's, *from the accounts we have in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, of the manner and occaſion of St. Mark's writing his Goſpel.* The ſubſtance of all thoſe accounts which we have, is this, viz. *That St. Mark, (who was the companion and interpreter of St. Peter) being at Rome with him, was deſired by the brethren there, to give them an account in writing, of what he had learnt from St. Peter, of the doctrines and life of Chriſt; that they did not deſiſt in their intreaties, till they had prevailed, and this was the cauſe or reaſon of the Goſpel, we now call St. Mark's, being firſt wrote.* This in ſhort is the account, and it ſeems to be as largely atteſted by the antients, as almoſt any matter of fact whatſoever, at that diſtance from us. Papias, Irenæus, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Jerome, and many others, all agree as to the main of this fact.

The moſt full and antient relation of this matter, is that of Clemens Alexandrinus, cited by Euſebius in two ſeveral places[a], and confirmed in the firſt of thoſe places, by the moſt antient teſtimony of Papias: To the ſame purpoſe (though not quite ſo full) is the account of Irenæus, viz. *That St. Mark committed to writing the things which he heard St. Peter preach*[b]. So Origen[c], *That St. Mark made or wrote his*

[a] Παρακλήσεσι δὲ παντοίαις (ſcil. οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι) Μάρκου, ὃν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον φέρεται, ἀκολουθον ὄντα Πέτρῳ λιπαρῆσαι, ὡς αν καὶ διὰ γραφῆς ὑπόμνημα τῆς διὰ λόγου παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς κατάλοιπον ποιήσαιτο· μὴ πρότερον τε ἀνεῖναι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ταύτην αἰτίαν γενέσθαι τῆς τὸ λεγομένου κατὰ Μάρκον Εὐαγγελίου γραφῆς—Συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης ἐπίσκοπος ὀνόματι Παπίας. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 15. Idem vid. lib. 6. c. 14. vid. et lib. 3. c. 39.

[b] Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε. Iren. Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 3. c. 1.

[c] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 25.

Goſpel,

Goſpel, ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῷ, *as St. Peter directed or taught him.* The ſame account we have from Jerome[a] ſeveral times, Theophylact[b], and ſeveral others of the antients. It was ſo far believed in the firſt ages, that St. Mark wrote his Goſpel under the conduct and direction of St. Peter, that this Goſpel was by a great many called *The Goſpel of St. Peter*, and not St. Mark; ſo Tertullian[c] tells us, that "the Goſpel "which St. Mark publiſhed, was affirmed to be wrote by "St. Peter." Such is the account, which we have from antiquity, of the writing of this Goſpel. There is one remark which I have made in reading this Goſpel, which (though it may ſeem to ſome to be too nice a ſpeculation) yet perhaps, conſidering the very many teſtimonies of the antients, *that St. Mark wrote what he heard from St. Peter*, may have ſome weight in it, and be ſome confirmation of the preceding relation. The remark I mean is this, viz. *That there are in the Goſpel hiſtory, ſeveral very remarkable circumſtances, relating to St. Peter, which are told by the other Evangeliſts, and not ſo much as mentioned or hinted at by St. Mark.* The reaſon of which ſeems to be, that St. Peter's modeſty would not permit them to be inſerted, being generally ſuch as were to his advantage, and would tend to advance his honour above the reſt of the Apoſtles, a thing which no doubt the good Apoſtle would endeavour to prevent. For the manifeſting of this, I will ſelect a few out of the other inſtances, which might be produced, viz.

1. The account of *Chriſt's pronouncing St. Peter bleſſed*, when he had confeſſed him, *the promiſe of the keys, and of that large power, &c.* made to him, are omitted by St. Mark, though the former and ſucceeding parts of the ſtory, are both told by him. See Mark viii. 29, 30. and compare it with Matt. xvi. 16—20.

2. The relation of St. Peter's working the miracle, *by get-*

[a] Marcus—juxta quod Petrum referentem audierat, rogatus Romæ a fratribus, breve ſcripſit Evangelium. Catalog. Script. Eccl. in voce Marcus. Vid. Præfat. in Comment. in Matt.

[b] Præfat. in Comment. in Marc.

[c] Evangelium, quod Marcus edidit, Petri affirmetur, cujus interpres Marcus. Tertull. Adv. Marcion. lib. 4. c. 5.

ting

ting money out of the fiſh's mouth, to pay the tribute-money, told by St. Matt. ch. xvii. 24, &c. is omitted by St. Mark, though the preceding and ſubſequent ſtories are the ſame as in St. Matthew. See Mark ix. 30—33.

3. Chriſt's particular love and favour expreſſed to St. Peter, *in telling him of his danger, and that he had prayed for him in particular, that his faith might not fail*, Luke xxii. 31, 32. is omitted by St. Mark.

4. *St. Peter's remarkable humility* above the reſt of the Apoſtles, *about Chriſt's waſhing his feet, &c.* John xiii. 6—9. omitted by St. Mark.

5. The inſtance of St. Peter's very great zeal for Chriſt, when he was taken, *in cutting of the High-Prieſt's ſervant's ear*. John xviii. 10. is not mentioned by St. Mark concerning St. Peter in particular, but only told in general of a certain perſon that ſtood by; Mark xiv. 47.

6. St. Peter's faith *in leaping into the ſea*, to go to Chriſt, John xxi. 7. not mentioned by St. Mark.

7. Chriſt's diſcourſe with St. Peter concerning *his love to him*, and his particular, repeated charge to him *to feed his ſheep*, John xxi. 15. &c. omitted by St. Mark.

Theſe are ſome inſtances of things tending to St. Peter's honour, recorded by the other Evangeliſts, none of which are ſo much as hinted at by St. Mark. I add, that there is not any one ſingle inſtance in all that Goſpel, like unto any of thoſe which have been mentioned. There is nothing in that Goſpel, which does in the leaſt tend to advance the honour and prerogative of St. Peter, above the reſt of the Apoſtles. Now, why theſe and ſome other particulars of a like nature ſhould be omitted by St. Mark, is ſomewhat ſtrange, unleſs we account for it thus; that St. Peter, who dictated this Goſpel to St. Mark, through modeſty and for fear of ſome bad conſequences, cauſed him to leave out thoſe things, which ſo particularly concerned himſelf. Had not St. Mark had his Goſpel from St. Peter, I cannot conceive, why he ſhould ſo ſtudiouſly avoid the mention of all thoſe remarkable things, which tended ſo much to his honour. Much to the ſame purpoſe, is the arguing

guing of a learned Popiſh divine on this head[a], out of Euſebius. "Why (ſays he) St. Mark ſhould leave out thoſe great "and honourable promiſes made to St. Peter, which we read "in St. Matthew (ch. xvi.), may be ſeen in Euſebius (De- "monſtr. Evang. l. 3. c. 7.) St. Peter's humility would not "ſuffer him to tell theſe things to St. Mark, when he was "writing his Goſpel. We may obſerve the three other Evan- "geliſts relating thoſe things, which tend to advance the ho- "nour and prerogative of St. Peter. Only St. Mark, who "wrote his Goſpel from St. Peter's dictating to him, has "omitted them; which evidences the great modeſty of St. "Peter." This reaſoning is abundantly confirmed by a very common and well-known obſervation, that authors of modeſty are ſeldom forward to mention thoſe things, that tend to their own praiſe; ſo that we have at leaſt a probable argument from the Goſpel itſelf, to prove the account we have from antiquity, of the writing of it, true. The learned Dr. Hammond has another argument taken out of the Goſpel itſelf, by which he endeavours to prove the account, that has been given of its being dictated by St. Peter, to be true. After having cited the account, he adds[b]; "Of this there be ſome "characters diſcernible in the writing itſelf; as that, ſetting "down the ſtory of Peter's denying of Chriſt, with the ſame "enumeration of circumſtances, and aggravations of the "fault, that Matthew doth; when he comes to mention his "repentance and tears conſequent to it, he doth it (as became "the true penitent) *more coldly* than Matthew had done, only "ἔκλαυσε *he wept*; whereas Matthew hath ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς, *he wept* "*bitterly*." How far this argument is concluſive, I ſhall not

[a] Cur Marcus omittit illa magnifica promiſſa Petro facta a Chriſto, quæ leguntur apud Matth. vid. apud Euſeb. lib. 3. Demonſtr. Evang. c. 7. Petrus ex humilitate noluit hoc referre Marco ſcripturo Evangelium; ubi nota reliquos tres Evangeliſtas ea commemoraſſe, quæ ad Petri excellentiam et prærogativam pertinent. Matt. ch. 16. *Beatus es, Simon Bar-Jona*, &c. Luc. c. 22. *Ego rogavi pro te*, &c. Et apud Joan. 21. *Paſce oves meas*. Solum Marcum, qui Evangelium ſcripſit, ſicut Petro referente audierat, de his tacuiſſe. Quæ res inſignem B. Petri modeſtiam nobis inſinuat et commendat. Eſtius in Difficilior. Script. loc. ad Marc. 8. 29.

[b] Introduc. to Matt.

now

now enquire; if this be not, perhaps there may be ſeveral of the like nature, that are. I would only add, that St. Peter himſelf in his 1ſt Epiſtle [a] makes mention of St. Mark, as being along with him, and calls him *his ſon: The Church which is at Babylon, elected together with you, ſaluteth you, and ſo doth Marcus my ſon.* There can be no juſt reaſon to queſtion, whether the ſame Mark is here intended, who wrote the Goſpel; and if the word Babylon be here taken for Rome, as the Fathers, the papiſts in general, and many other among the Proteſtants [b] do take it, then the foregoing account receives a very great confirmation, from St. Peter and St. Mark's having been at Rome together. So Jerome [c] and Euſebius [d] make uſe of this argument for this very purpoſe. The words of the latter are theſe; "But Peter makes mention of Mark in "his firſt Epiſtle, which they ſay was wrote at Rome, and it "was that which Peter himſelf meant, when by a ſtrong fi-"gure he makes uſe of the word Babylon to denote that "city, viz. Rome, in theſe words, The Church which is at "Babylon, choſen together with you, ſaluteth you, and Mark "my ſon."

If then upon the whole it be reaſonable to conclude, that St. Mark wrote his Goſpel at Rome, at the requeſt of the brethren there, from the things which he had heard of St. Peter; we have, I think, an unanſwerable argument, that this Goſpel is not an abſtract, or epitome of St. Matthew's. If his Goſpel be a collection of what St. Peter had told him, then it is not a bare tranſcript of St. Matthew: for to ſay, he took his Goſpel from St. Peter's mouth, and tranſcribed it from St. Matthew's writing, is ſomewhat like a contradiction. But beſides this, if St. Mark had had St. Matthew's Goſpel along

[a] 1 Pet. v. 13.

[b] See Dr. Hammond on 1 Pet. v. 13. and on Rev. xviii. 2.

[c] Petrus in Epiſtola prima ſub nomine Babylonis figuraliter Romam ſignificans. Hieron. De Vir. Illuſtr. in voc. Marc.

[d] Τὸν δὲ Μάρκον μημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ Ἐπιστολῇ, ἣν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης· σημαίνειν τε τοῦτ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλιν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα προσειπόντα, διὰ τούτων· Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ, καὶ Μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 15. Vid. etiam Valeſ. ad h. loc.

with

with him at Rome, why ſhould the Romans have preſſed him ſo very earneſtly to make an epitome of it? Was it too long, and did it contain any things that were tedious or ſuperfluous? The truth is, if St. Mark, or any one elſe, had had St. Matthew's Goſpel at Rome, there would have been no need of St. Mark's writing. "If (ſays the famous Cardinal Bellarmine[a]) "the Goſpel of St. Matthew had been then at Rome in the "hands of any of the Chriſtians, when St. Mark wrote there, "he would not have wrote." And one would think they ſhould rather have deſired St. Matthew's Goſpel, being wrote by one that was an eye and ear-witneſs of what he ſaid. Beſides, thoſe for whom he wrote, wanted much of the zeal of the primitive Chriſtians; nay, and of that zeal, which Euſebius ſays they had for the Goſpel hiſtory, if they did not deſire an account of all that our Lord ſaid, and did. They would hardly deſire, and be contented with a leſs full, when they could have a more full and perfect account. I conclude therefore, that St. Matthew's Goſpel was not then at Rome, and conſequently that St. Mark did not epitomize, or make any uſe of it, when he compoſed his Goſpel.

[a] Immo ſi tunc (ſcil. quando Marcus Romæ ſcripſit) Evangelium Matthæi in manibus fidelium Romæ fuiſſet, credibile eſt Marcum ſcripturum non fuiſſe. Bellarm. de Matrimon. Sacr. lib. 1. c. 16.

CHAP. VII.

The Second Argument, to prove St. Mark's Goſpel not to be an Epitome of St. Matthew's, becauſe his Accounts are generally larger, and contain many more particular Circumſtances, than St. Matthew's do. *This evidenced by ſeveral Inſtances.*

Arg. II. ST. *Mark's Goſpel is not an abridgement or epitome of St. Matthew's, becauſe for the moſt part his accounts are much more large and full, and related with many more particular circumſtances, than the ſame accounts are by St. Matthew.* There is ſcarce any one ſtory related by both theſe Evangeliſts, in which St. Mark does not add ſome conſiderable circumſtances, which St. Matthew has not; and if this be ſo, I think there can be no more convincing evidence, that St. Mark did not deſign to epitomize St. Matthew: but if we were to conclude any thing of this nature from comparing them together, the concluſion muſt be, that St. Matthew in all theſe parts did deſign to abridge St. Mark.

The matter of fact, which I have here aſſerted, will eaſily appear to be true to any one, who reads theſe two Goſpels with this view, and compares them together. To ſave the reader the pains, I have collected ſome inſtances, and ſet them down in ſuch a manner, that by a bare caſting the eye upon them, the truth of that which I contend for, will ſufficiently appear, viz. that St. Mark is generally larger in his accounts than St. Matthew.

A Table of ſeveral inſtances, in which St. Mark relates his ſtories more fully and with more particular circumſtances, than St. Matthew.

The ſtory of the devils caſt into the ſwine.

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
Chap. VIII.	Chap. V.
Ver. 28. And when he was come to the other ſide, into the country of the Gergeſenes, there met him two poſſeſſed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, ſo that no man might paſs by that way.	Ver. 1. And they came over unto the other ſide of the ſea, into the country of the Gadarenes. 2. And when he was come out of the ſhip, immediately there met him out of the tombs, a man with an unclean ſpirit; 3. Who had his dwelling among the tombs, and no man could bind him, no not with chains. 4. Becauſe that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked aſunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces; neither could any man tame him. 5. And always night and day he was in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying and cutting himſelf with ſtones. 6. But when he ſaw Jeſus afar off, he ran and worſhipped him;
29. And behold they cried out, ſaying, What have we to do with thee, Jeſus, thou	7. And cried with a loud voice, and ſaid, What have I to do with thee, Jeſus, thou

St. MATTHEW.

Chap. VIII.

Son of God? Art thou come hither to torment us, before the time?

30. And there was a good way off from them, an herd of many ſwine feeding.

31. So the devils beſought him, ſaying, If thou caſt us out, ſuffer us to go away into the herd of ſwine.

32. And he ſaid unto them, Go; and when they were come out, they went into the herd of ſwine, and behold the whole herd of ſwine ran violently down a ſteep place into the ſea, and periſhed in the waters.

33. And they that kept them fled, and went their ways into the city, and told every thing, and what was befallen to the poſſeſſed of the devils.

St. MARK.

Chap. V.

Son of the moſt high God? I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not.

8. (For he ſaid unto him, Come out of the man, thou unclean ſpirit.)

9. And he aſked him, what is thy name? And he anſwered, ſaying, My name is Legion; for we are many.

10. And he beſought him much, that he would not ſend them away out of the country.

11. Now there was there nigh unto the mountains, a great herd of ſwine feeding.

12. And all the devils beſought him, ſaying, Send us into the ſwine, that we may enter into them.

13. And forthwith Jeſus gave them leave, and the unclean ſpirits went out, and entered into the ſwine, and the herd ran violently down a ſteep place into the ſea, (they were about two thouſand) and were choaked in the ſea.

14. And they that fed the ſwine fled, and told it in the city and in the country. And they went out to ſee what it was that was done.

15. And they come to Jeſus,

St. MATTHEW.

Chap. VIII.

34. And behold the whole city came out to meet Jeſus; and when they ſaw him, they beſought him, that he would depart out of their coaſts.

St. MARK.

Chap. V.

ſus, and ſee him that was poſſeſſed with the devil, and had the Legion ſitting, and clothed, and in his right mind; and they were afraid.

16. And they that ſaw it told them, how it befel to him, that was poſſeſſed with the devil, and alſo concerning the ſwine.

17. And they began to pray him to depart out of their coaſts.

18. And when he was come into the ſhip, he that had been poſſeſſed with the devil, prayed him, that he might be with him.

19. Howbeit Jeſus ſuffered him not, but ſaith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compaſſion on thee.

20. And he departed, and began to publiſh in Decapolis, how great things Jeſus had done for him; and all men did marvel.

The ſtory of the paralytick healed.

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
CHAP. IX.	Chap. II.
1. And he entered into a ſhip, and paſſed over, and came into his own city.	1. And again he entered into Capernaum, after ſome days, and it was noiſed that he was in the houſe.
	2. And ſtraightway many were gathered together, inſomuch that there was no room to receive them, no not ſo much as about the door; and he preached the word unto them.
2. And behold they brought to him a man ſick of the palſy, lying on a bed.	3. And they come unto him, bringing one ſick of the palſy, which was borne of four.
	4. And when they could not come nigh unto him for the preſs, they uncovered the roof where he was; and when they had broken it up, they let down the bed wherein the ſick of the palſy lay.
2. —— And Jeſus ſeeing their faith, &c.	5. When Jeſus ſaw their faith, &c.

The ſtory of Jairus the Ruler of the Synagogue's daughter reſtored to life.

Chap. IX.	Chap. V.
Ver. 18. While he ſpake theſe things unto them, behold there came a certain ruler and worſhipped him, ſaying, My daughter is even	Ver. 22. And behold there cometh one of the rulers of the ſynagogue, Jairus by name; and when he ſaw him, he fell at his feet,
	23. And

St. MATTHEW.

Chap. IX.

now dead; but come and lay thy hand upon her, and ſhe ſhall live.

19. And Jeſus aroſe and followed him; and ſo did his diſciples.

23. And when Jeſus came into the ruler's houſe, and ſaw the people, and the minſtrels making a noiſe,

24. He ſaid unto them, Give place, for the maid is not dead, but ſleepeth. And they laughed him to ſcorn.

St. MARK.

Chap. V.

23. And beſought him greatly, ſaying, My little daughter lieth at the point of death: I pray thee come and lay thy hands on her, that ſhe may be healed, and ſhe ſhall live.

24. And Jeſus went with him, and much people followed him, and thronged him.

35. While he yet ſpake, there came from the ruler of the ſynagogue's houſe certain, which ſaid, Thy daughter is dead: why troubleſt thou the maſter any further?

36. As ſoon as Jeſus heard the word that was ſpoken, he ſaith unto the ruler of the ſynagogue, Be not afraid, only believe.

37. And he ſuffered no man to follow him, ſave Peter, and James, and John, the brother of James.

38. And he cometh to the houſe of the ruler of the ſynagogue, and ſeeth the tumult, and them that wept and wailed greatly.

39. And when he was come in, he ſaith unto them, Why make ye this ado, and weep? The damſel is not dead, but ſleepeth.

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Chap. IX.

25. But when the people were put forth, he went in, and took her by the hand, and the maid aroſe.

26. And the fame hereof went abroad into all that land.

St. MARK.

Chap. V.

40. And they laughed him to ſcorn; but when he had put them all out, he taketh the father and the mother of the damſel, and them that were with him, and entereth in where the damſel was lying.

41. He took the damſel by the hand, and ſaid, Talitha Cumi, which is, being interpreted, damſel (I ſay unto thee) ariſe.

42. And ſtraightway the damſel aroſe, and walked, for ſhe was of the age of twelve years; and they were aſtoniſhed with a great aſtoniſhment.

43. And he charged them ſtraitly, that no man ſhould know of it, and he commanded that ſomething ſhould be given her to eat.

The ſtory of the woman healed of the bloody iſſue.

20. And behold, a woman, *which was diſeaſed with an iſſue of blood twelve years—*

25. And a certain woman *which had an iſſue of blood twelve years;*

26. *And had ſuffered many things of many phyſicians, and had ſpent all that ſhe had,* and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worſe;

27. When

St. MATTHEW.

Chap. IX.

— came behind him, and touched the hem of his garment.

21. For ſhe ſaid within herſelf, If I may but touch his garment, I ſhall be whole.

22. But Jeſus turned him about, and when he ſaw her, he ſaid, Daughter, be of good comfort; thy faith hath made thee whole: and the woman was made whole from that hour.

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Chap. V.

27. When ſhe had heard of Jeſus, came in the preſs behind, and touched his garment.

28. For ſhe ſaid, If I may but touch his clothes, I ſhall be whole.

29. And ſtraightway the fountain of her blood was dried up, and ſhe felt in her body that ſhe was healed of that plague.

30. And Jeſus immedidiately knowing in himſelf, that virtue had gone out of him, turned him about in the preſs, and ſaid, Who touched my clothes?

31. And his diſciples ſaid unto him, Thou ſeeſt the multitude thronging thee, and ſayeſt thou, Who touched me?

32. And he looked round about, to ſee her that had done this thing.

33. But the woman fearing and trembling, knowing what was done in her, came and fell down before him, and told him all the truth.

34. And he ſaid unto her, Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace, and be whole of thy plague.

The ſtory of a boy diſpoſſeſſed of a dumb ſpirit.

St. MATTHEW.

Chap. XVII.

14. And when they were come to the multitude, there came to him a certain man, kneeling down to him, and ſaying,

15. Lord, have mercy on my ſon, for he is a lunatick, and ſore vexed; for oftimes he falleth into the fire, and oft into the water:

16. And I brought him to thy diſciples, and they could not cure him.

17. Then Jeſus anſwered, and ſaid, Oh faithleſs and perverſe generation, how long ſhall I be with you? How long ſhall I ſuffer you? Bring him hither to me.

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Chap. IX.

17. And one of the multitude anſwered, and ſaid, Maſter, I have brought unto thee my ſon, which hath a dumb ſpirit:

18. And whereſoever he taketh him, he teareth him; and he foameth, and gnaſheth with his teeth, and pineth away: and I ſpake to thy diſciples, that they ſhould caſt him out, and they could not.

19. He anſwered him, and ſaith, O faithleſs and perverſe generation, how long ſhall I be with you? How long ſhall I ſuffer you? Bring him unto me.

20. And they brought him unto him, and when he ſaw him, ſtraightway the ſpirit tare him, and he fell on the ground, and wallowed foaming.

21. And he aſked his father, How long is it ago, ſince this came unto him? And he ſaid, Of a child.

22. And ofttimes it hath caſt him into the fire, and into the water, to deſtroy him; but if thou canſt do any thing, have

St. MATTHEW.

Chap. XVII.

18. And Jeſus rebuked the devil, and he departed out of him; and the child was cured from that very hour.

St. MARK.

Chap. IX.

have compaſſion on us, and help us.

23. Jeſus ſaid unto him, If thou canſt believe, all things are poſſible to him that believeth.

24. And ſtraightway the father of the child cried out, and ſaid with tears, Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief.

25. When Jeſus ſaw that the people came running together, he rebuked the foul ſpirit, ſaying, Thou dumb and deaf ſpirit, I charge thee come out of him, and enter no more into him.

26. And the ſpirit cried, and rent him ſore, and came out of him; and he was as one dead, inſomuch that many ſaid, he is dead.

27. But Jeſus took him by the hand, and lifted him up, and he aroſe.

The ſtory of the fig-tree curſed by Chriſt.

Chap. XXI.

18. Now in the morning, as he returned into the city, he hungered.

19. And when he ſaw a fig-tree in the way, he came

Chap. XI.

12. And on the morrow, when they were come from Bethany, he was hungry.

13. And ſeeing a fig-tree afar off, having leaves, he came,

St. MATTHEW.

Chap. XXI.

to it, and found nothing thereon, but leaves only, and ſaid, Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward for ever; and preſently the fig-tree withered away.

20. And when the diſciples ſaw it, they marvelled, ſaying, How ſoon is the fig-tree withered away!

St. MARK.

Chap. XI.

came, if haply he might find any thing thereon; and when he came to it, he found nothing but leaves, for the time of figs was not yet.

14. And Jeſus anſwered, and ſaid unto it, No man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever. And his diſciples heard it.

20. And in the morning, as they paſſed by, they ſaw the fig-tree dried up from the roots.

21. And Peter calling to remembrance, ſaith unto him, Maſter, behold, the fig-tree, which thou curſedſt, is withered away.

The ſtory of our Saviour's Diſciples preparing a place for celebrating the paſſover.

Chap. XXVI.

17. Now the firſt day of the feaſt of unleavened bread, the diſciples came to Jeſus, ſaying unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee, to eat the paſſover?

18. And he ſaid, Go into the city to ſuch a man, and ſay unto him, The maſter ſaith, my time is at hand, I will

Chap. XIV.

12. And the firſt day of unleavened bread, when they killed the paſſover, his diſciples ſaid unto him, Where wilt thou that we go and prepare, that thou mayeſt eat the paſſover?

13. And he ſendeth forth two of his diſciples, and ſaith unto them, Go ye into the city, and there ſhall meet you a man

St. MATTHEW.

Chap. XXVI.

keep the paſſover at thy houſe with my diſciples.

19. And the diſciples did, as Jeſus had appointed them; and they made ready the paſſover.

St. MARK.

Chap. XIV.

a man bearing a pitcher of water; follow him.

14. And whereſoever he ſhall go in, ſay ye to the good man of the houſe, The maſter ſaith, Where is the gueſt-chamber, where I ſhall eat the paſſover with my diſciples?

15. And he will ſhew you a large upper room, furniſhed and prepared; there make ready for us.

16. And his diſciples went forth, and came into the city, and found as he had ſaid unto them; and they made ready the paſſover.

By a very curſory and tranſient view of the preceding inſtances, every one, who is unprejudiced, will conclude, that St. Mark could not poſſibly deſign to abridge St. Matthew, unleſs abridging and enlarging do ſignify the ſame thing. His accounts are ſo much fuller, and contain ſo many more particular circumſtances, than St. Matthew's do, that to ſuppoſe his Goſpel to be an epitome of St. Matthew's, is ſomewhat like ſuppoſing the whole to be leſs than a part. Nor is it only in the inſtances which have been produced, that St. Mark's relations are larger than thoſe of St. Matthew, but alſo in abundance of others. It would be tedious to mention all the particular inſtances of this nature, eſpecially to write them down at length, as I have done the former; I ſhall therefore only mention a few, and briefly hint what they are.

A Catalogue of ſome other inſtances, in which St. Mark adds more circumſtances to his relations, than St. Matthew.

Chap. i. 45. The leper's publiſhing what Chriſt had done for him, after his cure.

III. 20, 21. The multitudes following Chriſt, his friends laying hold on him, and charging him with diſtraction.

IV. 10. The diſciples aſking our Saviour the meaning of the parable of the ſower, *when he was alone.*

Ver. 36. *Several ſhips* accompanying our Saviour in his voyage.

VI. 2. Our Lord's preaching *on the Sabbath-day in his own country.*

Ver. 5. The particular work our Saviour did in his own country, viz. healing ſome ſick.

Ver. 6. His wondering at their unbelief.

Ver. 7. The manner of ſending forth the Apoſtles, viz. *by two and two.*

Ver. 37. The diſciples' unwillingneſs to go to buy bread for the multitude, and the ſum it would coſt.

Ver. 40. The manner of the multitudes ſitting down to be fed by Chriſt.

VII. 24. Our Saviour's deſire to be concealed, but could not.

VIII. 3. Some of our Lord's diſciples came from far.

Ver. 6, 7. The bleſſing the ſeven loaves, and bleſſing the fiſhes, mentioned as done diſtinctly and ſeparately; St. Matthew joins the bleſſing the loaves and fiſhes both together.

Ver. 14. The diſciples had but one loaf.

IX. 10. The three diſciples queſtioning one with another, what our Lord meant *by riſing from the dead.*

Ver. 32. The reſt of the diſciples at a loſs in the ſame particular, and afraid to aſk Chriſt.

Chap. vi. 14—30. There are ſeveral particular circumſtances in the hiſtory of John's death, which are not mentioned by St. Matthew.

Ver.

Ver. 44, 48. A further deſcription of the torments and miſery of hell.

X. 15. Chriſt's declaring, that they who did not receive the kingdom of heaven as little children, ſhould not enter into it.

Ver. 32. The diſciples afraid, when they were going up to Jeruſalem.

Ver. 49, 50. Chriſt's ordering the blind man to be called, comforting him, his caſting away his garment, and coming to Chriſt.

XI. 4, 5. A deſcription of the place where the colt was found, and the owners demanding the reaſon of the two diſciples, why they took it away.

XII. 32, 33, 34. The Scribe approves what our Lord had ſaid, repeats it, makes a juſt and uſeful remark upon it: our Saviour approves him, &c.

Ver. 37. The common people take pleaſure in hearing Chriſt.

XIII. 3. The names of the Apoſtles, who made the enquiry concerning the deſtruction of the Temple.

XIV. 3, &c. Several particulars in the ſtory of the woman's anointing our Saviour; ſuch as the quality of the ointment, the breaking of the box, the value of the ointment in money, &c.

Ver. 12. The paſſover was to be killed on the firſt day of unleavened bread.

Ver. 54, 67. Peter ſat warming himſelf at the fire.

Ver. 70. Peter ſaid to be a Galilean.

XV. 7. The crime for which Barabbas was impriſoned.

Ver. 8. The Jews plead their privilege of having a criminal releaſed at the paſſover.

Ver. 25. The preciſe hour, in which our Saviour was crucified.

Ver. 42. The reaſon why Joſeph of Arimathea came on that day to beg the body of Jeſus, viz. becauſe *it was the preparation*, i. e. *the day before the Sabbath.*

Ver. 43. The character and office of Joſeph of Arimathea.

Ver.

Ver. 44. Pilate wonders Chriſt was ſo ſoon dead. His enquiring about it.

XVI. 1. The deſign of Mary Magdalen, and the other Mary, to embalm the body of Jeſus, with ointments they had bought for that purpoſe.

Theſe are ſome inſtances of circumſtances, related by St. Mark in his hiſtories, and not by St. Matthew: a perſon, that will be at the pains carefully to compare theſe Goſpels, with this view, will find many more. But theſe ſeem to be ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe, ſufficient to evidence, that St. Mark did not deſign to abridge or epitomize St. Matthew's Goſpel.

CHAP. VIII.

The third Argument, by which it appears, that St. Mark's Goſpel is not an Epitome of St. Matthew's, viz. *the remarkable Diſagreement there ſeems to be between theſe two Evangeliſts, in ſeveral Parts of their Goſpels. It is firſt premiſed, that all theſe are reconcileable. Then the particular Inſtances of their Diſagreement produced.*

Arg. III. *THE diſagreement which there ſeems to be between theſe two Evangeliſts,* viz. *St. Matthew and St. Mark, in relating ſeveral circumſtances of their hiſtory, is a clear and demonſtrative evidence, that* St Mark did not abridge St. Matthew, nor had his Goſpel lying before him, when he wrote his. To go about to collect the difference of theſe ſacred writers, to make them appear *as many* and *as great* as poſſible, may ſeem very ſtrange and unneceſſary work in one, who profeſſes a value and reſpect for them. I think it needful therefore to premiſe, that however *great* and *many* the differences may ſeem to be between theſe two (or indeed between any of the Evangeliſts), yet they have all been happily reconciled,

ciled, by the labours of ingenious and learned men. Of the many that have undertaken this matter, there are none who ſeem to have been more ſucceſsful therein, than Auſtin[a] among the antients; and the learned Frederick Spanheim[b] among the more late writers. Surpriſing diſcoveries have been made in the laſt age in this matter, by a further acquaintance with the cuſtoms and manners of the Jews, among whom our Saviour and his Apoſtles converſed; difficulties, which ſeemed to be inſuperable, have been ſometimes eaſily ſolved by the diſcovery of ſome particular cuſtom, that was among the Jews at that time; and theſe diſcoveries have been ſo many, and our helps of all ſorts in this matter ſo great, that I will not be afraid to aſſert; that whatever diſagreement may ſeem to be between theſe two Evangeliſts, or either of the other, it is capable of a very ſatisfying and reaſonable ſolution.

This premiſed, I ſay the difference between St. Matthew and St. Mark *is ſo great, and in ſo many inſtances*, as evidences almoſt to a demonſtration, that St. Mark did not collect his Goſpel out of St. Matthew: I do not now regard the difference, that is between them, in reſpect of the *order of time*, but in other circumſtances.

I ſhall not be at the pains to obſerve every ſmall difference, which there is between theſe two Evangeliſts in their hiſtories. Thoſe which are in the following catalogue, will be ſufficient to my preſent purpoſe.

A Catalogue of ſome inſtances, in which the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark do ſeem to diſagree.

The firſt remarkable inſtance we find of any difference between them, is in the ſtory of the miracle, which our Saviour wrought, in caſting the devils into the herd of ſwine, in the country of the Gadarenes or Gergeſenes. The accounts we

[a] In his book intitled, *De Conſenſu Evangeliſtarum.*

[b] In his excellent Diſſertations, which he calls *Dubia Evangelica.*

have,

have, Matth. viii. 28, &c. and Mark v. 1. in which accounts we may obſerve a diſagreement in two particulars.

I. As to the place where the miracle was wrought.

II. As to the number of perſons diſpoſſeſſed.

1. As to the *place or country* where the miracle was wrought, according to St. Matthew, it was when our Saviour was landed εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γεργεσηνῶν, *in the country of the Gergeſenes*; ſee ch. viii. 28. According to St. Mark, v. 1. and ſo St. Luke, viii. 26. it was when our Saviour was come εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν, *into the country of the Gadarenes*. Now theſe were certainly the names of the inhabitants of two different places, as is very plain from Joſephus, who ſeveral times mentions them as ſuch. So when he is reckoning up [a] ſome of thoſe cities, which the Jews had deſtroyed in Syria, he firſt mentions their coming to Γέρασα, *the city of the Gergeſenes*, and after that Γαδάροις, *to the city of the Gadarenes*. And in the ſame chapter [b], mentioning the ſeveral cities, that fell upon the Jews, who dwelt in them, he names the Γαδαρεῖς *the Gadarenes*; and immediately after [c], reckoning up the cities, that were kind to the Jews, who dwelt among them, and did not deſtroy them, he mentions the Γερασηνοὶ *the Gergeſenes*; for there can be no doubt but Γερασηνοὶ and Γεργεσηνοὶ were the ſame perſons. The old Syriack interpreter, who was perhaps a native of this, or ſome country near it, perceiving this difference between the Evangeliſts, thought it too great a one to be admitted into his Verſion, and therefore in St. Matthew, as well as in St. Mark, tranſlates it by the ſame word, *the country of the Gadarenes*.

2. *They differ, as to the number of perſons diſpoſſeſſed.* St. Matthew tells us, they were *two*, St. Mark mentions only *one*. Theſe, though they are not circumſtances contrary to each other, yet are ſo different, that they undeniably prove, that neither of theſe ſacred writers could make uſe of the other's Goſpel, in compoſing his.

[a] De Bell. Judaic. lib. 2. c. 18. §. 1.

[b] Ibid. c. 18. §. 5.

[c] Ibid. Vid. Suid. ad Γάδαρα et Γέρασα, et Lud. Dieu ad Matth. viii. 28.

Another

Another inſtance to the ſame purpoſe, is the ſtory of the daughter of Jairus, the ruler of the ſynagogue, being reſtored to life again by our Saviour, told by St. Mark, chap. v. 22, &c. with circumſtances very different from thoſe, with which it is told by St. Matthew, chap. ix. 18. For inſtance, according to St. Matthew's account, the ruler told our Saviour, that his daughter ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησεν, *was already dead*, and deſired, that he would reſtore her to life again: but according to St. Mark, the young woman was not dead, when the ruler came to our Saviour; for he only ſays, θυγάτριόν μου ἐσχάτως ἔχει, *my little daughter lieth at the point of death*; and afterwards, when our Saviour was going along with him, ſome of the family came, and tell him, his daughter was actually dead, and therefore it would be needleſs to give our Saviour any further trouble.

St. Mark, chap. viii. 10. tells us, that, after the miracle of multiplying the loaves and the fiſhes, our Saviour immediately took ſhip, and ſailed into the parts of Dalmanutha; St. Matthew, chap. xv. 39. tells us, that in this voyage he went to the coaſts of Magdala.

St. Mark, chap. x. 35, &c. tells us, that the two ſons of Zebedee, James and John, came *themſelves* with a petition to our Saviour, that they might be advanced to the higheſt places of dignity in his kingdom; that our Lord ſpoke to *them*, and reproved them for their ambition: according to St. Matthew, chap. xx. 20. not *they*, but *their mother*, came with this petition to Chriſt, and he ſpake to *her*.

St. Mark, chap. x. 46. relates the account of our Lord's reſtoring a blind perſon to his ſight, when he was coming out of Jericho; St. Matthew, chap. xx. 30, &c. tells the very ſame ſtory, with moſt of the ſame circumſtances, concerning two blind perſons.

St. Mark, chap. xii. 9. in the parable concerning the letting out of the vineyard, mentions a queſtion of our Lord's, viz. *What therefore ſhall the Lord of the vineyard do?* and makes him to anſwer it himſelf; on the contrary St. Matthew, chap. xxi. 40. intimates, that our Lord put this queſtion to the Jews, and tells us, ver. 41. that they made him the anſwer;

and ſo thoſe words are a confeſſion extorted from the Jews, and not the words of Chriſt, according to St. Mark.

St. Mark, chap. xiv. 30, and 68, 72. recites our Saviour's prediction concerning Peter's denial of him, and his actual denying of him, in a very different manner from St. Matthew. Our Lord tells him, ver. 30. *Before the cock crow twice, thou ſhalt deny me thrice*; and accordingly St. Mark tells us, ver. 68, &c. that he denied him once, and then the cock crowed; denied twice afterwards, and the cock crowed again: on the other hand, according to St. Matthew, our Saviour told him (chap. xxvi. 34.) that he ſhould deny him three ſeveral times, before the cock ſhould crow at all; and accordingly, he makes him actually to deny Chriſt three times, before the cock crew. See ver. 69—74.

St. Mark, chap. xv. 23. tells us, that when our Saviour was upon the croſs, *they gave him to drink, wine mingled with myrrh*; according to St. Matthew (chap. xxvii. 34.), that which they gave him to drink, was *vinegar mingled with gall.*

St. Mark ſaith, the ſuperſcription on the croſs was this, THE KING OF THE JEWS; chap. xv. 26. According to St. Matthew it was thus, THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS; chap. xxvii. 37.

St. Mark, chap. xv. 34. gives us our Saviour's dying words upon the croſs, all in Syriack or Syro-Chaldaick, viz. *Eloi, Eloi, lama Sabactthani*; which was the language of the country, and that in which our Saviour ſpake [a]. On the other hand St. Matthew puts down theſe words, partly in pure Hebrew, and partly in Syriack, *Eli, Eli, lama Sabactthani*; chap. xxvii. 46.

Theſe are ſome of thoſe inſtances, in which theſe two Evangeliſts differ; there are ſeveral other ſuch to be found. But as there is not any one, which will not admit a very reaſonable reconciliation; ſo I think there is ſcarce any one of them,

[a] See the Syriack tranſlation of Mark xv. 34. Inſtead of *Eli, Eli*, he renders it *Eloi, Eloi*, as it is in St. Mark. And though he uſe the word *Lemono* inſtead of *Lama*, yet there is no doubt but *Lama* or *Lomo* was a very proper Chaldaick word.

but

but is of itſelf ſufficient to prove, that neither of theſe Goſpels was tranſcribed from the other. How can St. Mark be ſuppoſed to have had St. Matthew's Goſpel lying before him, and to *have made that* (as Mr. Whiſton would have it) *his almoſt only guide*, when he differs in ſo many particulars from him? I deſire Mr. Whiſton, and thoſe who are of the ſame opinion with him in this matter, to conſider this argument impartially; and to tell us, if it be poſſible, what thoſe reaſons were, which made St. Mark differ ſo much from St. Matthew in his accounts, when he had his Goſpel lying before him at the time of his writing. Were not St. Matthew's accounts juſt and true, and expreſſed as they ought to have been? This cannot be ſuppoſed. One inſpired writer certainly never entertained ſuch thoughts of another. Or did St. Mark make theſe differences with deſign to prevent any ſuſpicions men might have, that his Goſpel was not his own, but borrowed, and made out of another? Indeed if this had been the caſe, he could not have taken a better method to have accompliſhed his end. One would have thought, that ſuch and ſo many differences, would have effectually ſcreened and protected his Goſpel from ſuch a charge. But far be it from us, to have any ſuch thoughts of an inſpired writer. Until therefore it be ſhewn, how it could come to paſs, that there ſhould be ſo many different circumſtances in the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark, when the latter is ſuppoſed to have made uſe of the Goſpel of the former in compoſing his, I muſt conclude he did not make uſe of it at all. I own indeed there is one method ſuppoſeable, by which we may account for theſe differences between St. Matthew and St. Mark, though the latter did make uſe of the former's Goſpel. The method I mean, is that which Mr. Whiſton has taken to reconcile their diſagreement as to the order of time, viz. *Suppoſing our preſent copies corrupted in all theſe places, where they differ in other circumſtances, as Mr. Whiſton does ſuppoſe them to be in all theſe places, where they diſagree as to time.* But it being certain, that no ſuch corruption ever happened to the ſacred text of either St. Matthew or St. Mark, it ſtill remains unaccountable, how theſe differences ſhould have happened between

them, ſuppoſing the one to have made uſe of the other's Goſpel. Hence it was juſtly argued by Mr. Dodwell [a]; "That "the later Evangeliſts did not ſee the writings of the former; "for if they had, it is impoſſible there ſhould have been ſo "many ſeeming contradictions, which have exerciſed the "minds of learned men almoſt ever ſince the firſt conſtitu-"tion of the Canon." To the ſame purpoſe ſays Mr. Le Clerc [b]; "It is not credible that Mark or Luke had ſeen the "Goſpel according to St. Matthew, who otherwiſe would "have avoided—all ſeeming claſhings."

CHAP. IX.

The fourth Argument, to prove St. Mark's Goſpel is not an Epitome of St. Matthew's, viz. *becauſe it has a great many Hiſtories, which are not in St. Matthew. A Catalogue of them. The fifth Argument,* viz. *that it wants ſeveral remarkable Hiſtories.*

Arg. IV. ST. Mark's Goſpel is not an epitome of St. Matthew's, *becauſe he hath related ſeveral very conſiderable hiſtories, of which there is not the leaſt mention made by St. Matthew.* I have already proved [c], that he does, for the moſt part, add many more particular circumſtances to his ſtories, than St. Matthew. I ſhall now ſhew, that he relates ſeveral entire hiſtories, which St. Matthew does not; not only *a few additions which St. Peter informed him of* (as Mr. Whiſton [d] ſuppoſes), but many remarkable and uſeful ſtories. This

[a] — Ut ne quidem reſciverint recentiores Evangeliſtæ, quid ſcripſiſſent de iiſdem rebus antiquiores; aliter foret, ne tot eſſent ἐναντιοφανῆ, quæ fere a prima uſque Canonis conſtitutione eruditorum hominum ingenia exercuerint. Diſſert. 1. in Iren. §. 39.

[b] In his third Diſſertation, concerning the Four Goſpels, annexed to his Harmony.

[c] Ch. 7.

[d] P. 102.

obſervation

obſervation will be ſufficiently ſupported by the following inſtances.

A Catalogue of ſome hiſtories in St. Mark's Goſpel, which are not in St. Matthew.

Chap. I. 21, &c. The hiſtory of our Saviour's caſting the unclean ſpirit out of the man, in the ſynagogue at Capernaum.

Ver. 35, &c. The account of our Lord's retiring to a ſolitary place to pray, and Peter and many others following him.

Ch. III. 13, &c. Our Saviour's going up to a mountain to pray, there firſt chooſing his twelve diſciples; their names, commiſſion, office, &c.

Ch. IV. 26, &c. The parable of the kingdom of heaven coming without obſervation.

Ch. VI. 12, 13. The Diſciples going out to preach, caſting out devils, recovering many that were ſick, by anointing with oil.

Ver. 30, &c. The Apoſtles' report of their ſucceſs, &c.

Ch. VII. 2, &c. The Phariſees obſerve our Lord's Diſciples eating with unwaſhen hands, and the cuſtom of the Jews in this matter, ver. 3, 4.

Ver. 32, &c. The miracle of the deaf and dumb perſon being reſtored to his hearing and ſpeech.

Ch. VIII. 22, &c. The hiſtory of a blind perſon reſtored to his ſight at Bethſaida.

Ch. IX. 14, 15. The Diſciples' diſpute with the Scribes, and Chriſt's enquiry into it.

Ver. 33, &c. The Diſciples' diſpute among themſelves by the way, who ſhould be the greateſt.

Ver. 38, &c. The ſtory of John's forbidding a perſon to caſt out devils in the name of Chriſt, with Chriſt's diſcourſe to John thereupon.

Ch. X. 10, &c. The Diſciples' enquiry about the buſineſs of divorce.

Ch. XII. 41, &c. Our Saviour's obſerving the money caſt into the treaſury, the widow's mite, &c.

Ch. XIV. 51, 52. The account of the young man, that appeared naked with a linen cloth about his body, at the time when our Saviour was taken.

Ch. XVI. 9, &c. Chriſt's firſt appearance, after his reſurrection, to Mary Magdalen.

Ver. 12. His appearing to the two Diſciples, on the road.

Theſe ſeveral hiſtories (beſides a great many particular circumſtances already mentioned) are in St. Mark, and not in St. Matthew; which certainly never would have been, if he had deſigned his Goſpel only for an abridgment of St. Matthew's. It is a thing unuſual; nay, I believe I may venture to ſay, it is a thing which never has been known, for an epitomizer to make ſuch large additions to the hiſtory, which he abridges. St. Mark's Goſpel therefore is not an epitome of St. Matthew's.

Arg. V. Perhaps, on the other hand, it may add to the improbability of St. Mark's Goſpel being an epitome of St. Matthew's, that *there are ſeveral things wanting in it, and not ſo much as hinted at, which are in St. Matthew.* He that undertakes to epitomize a hiſtory, ought not to omit any conſiderable part of it. Now it is evident, that St. Mark has not the leaſt remote regard to many of the parts of St. Matthew's Goſpel. As near as I can gueſs, St. Matthew is about one fourth part larger than St. Mark, and thoſe things in which he is larger are ſome ſermons and diſcourſes of our Lord, eſpecially the Sermon on the Mount; beſides, St. Mark entirely omitteth the genealogy, and the birth of Chriſt with all its circumſtances. There are alſo two or three miracles, mentioned by St. Matthew, and not by St. Mark. Now if St. Mark had St. Matthew's Goſpel lying before him, and deſigned to make an abridgment of it, it is ſtrange he ſhould entirely omit, and not ſo much as ſlightly mention theſe things. He could not think that, which an inſpired writer had penned, not worthy his notice; if therefore he had had St. Matthew by him when he wrote, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe he would have mentioned theſe things, though he had omitted ſome circumſtances, and done it more briefly. If any perſon were now to make an epitome of St. Matthew, and were in this reſpect

reſpect to make it like St. Mark's, I am ſure every one would blame it, as not duly done. Mr. Whiſton has made an epitome of the Goſpel hiſtory; and it is no compliment at all, nor a character ſo great, as that ingenious performance deſerves, to ſay, it is a much better epitome of the Goſpels (not only in this reſpect, but many others) than St. Mark's Goſpel is of St. Matthew's. A juſt epitomizer ſhould have at leaſt the general heads of the hiſtory, which he abridges, in his epitome; St. Mark has not ſo much as this, and therefore Father Simon hath reaſoned very juſtly on this matter [a]; "It is, "ſays he, worth obſerving, that St. Mark cannot paſs for a "ſimple abbreviator of St. Matthew, becauſe he inſiſts more "at large, than he doth in ſome places; beſides, if he had only "a deſign to publiſh an epitome of St. Matthew's Goſpel, "he would not have taken away the entire genealogy of Je"ſus Chriſt, which makes one of the moſt principal parts of "it: it is not the cuſtom of thoſe that epitomize the works "of others, to retrench the moſt conſiderable part of them."

[a] Critic. Hiſtor. of the New Teſt. Par. 1. c. 10. p. 89.

CHAP. X.

The ſixth Argument, to prove St. Mark's Goſpel is not an Epitome of St. Matthew's, viz. *becauſe that Suppoſition makes its Inſpiration more dubious and uncertain; it makes the Author look like a Plagiary. Two Objections againſt this Argument anſwered. The ſeventh Argument, the ſuppoſing this Goſpel an Epitome detracts from its Honour and Uſefulneſs. Spinoza and Father Simon for this reaſon aſſert moſt of the Books of the Old Teſtament, to be only Epitomes, made out of Records that are loſt. Laſtly, the ſuppoſing this Goſpel an Epitome, invalidates in a great Meaſure its Teſtimony to the Truth of Chriſtianity. The Evangeliſts did not ſee one another's Goſpels.*

Arg. VI. ST. Mark's Goſpel is not an epitome or abridgment of St. Matthew's; becauſe the ſuppoſing it to be ſo, *makes its inſpiration more dubious and uncertain.* That this Goſpel (as well as the other hiſtorical books, which are received into the Canon of the Old and New Teſtament) was wrote under the conduct and immediate influences of the divine Spirit, is what I muſt at preſent take for granted. Mr. Whiſton, when he wrote the propoſition, which I am now endeavouring to diſprove, believed the writers of the Goſpel hiſtory to be *inſpired*[a]; and therefore it is not at all neceſſary I ſhould now undertake the proof of this matter. There is only one thing I would offer to Mr. Whiſton's conſideration on this head, and that is, that many of the moſt antient and genuine writers of the Chriſtian Church (ſuch as Mr. Whiſton himſelf reckons moſt valuable) give us abundant evidence that they believed, nay, and ſometimes expreſsly make mention of, the inſpiration of the Goſpel hiſtory[b].

[a] P. 112.

[b] In this number are Clemens Romanus, Irenæus, Juſtin Martyr, and many others, who lived not much later than them.

Taking

Taking it then for granted, that St. Mark's Goſpel was wrote under the conduct of the divine Spirit, it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe it to be an epitome of St. Matthew; to be an epitomizer, and to be under the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit, ſeems to be a little inconſiſtent. For if, as Mr. Whiſton ſays, *St. Matthew's Goſpel, lying before him, was his guide in writing his hiſtory*, what need was there of the inſpiration and guidance of the Spirit? If he had St. Matthew's Goſpel lying before him, why could he not, without any immediate influences from Heaven, tranſcribe out of it, here a piece, and there a piece, of the hiſtory, where he had a mind? a perſon endowed with the common and ordinary powers of nature, if he were but able to read, might have made as good, nay I may venture to ſay a much better epitome of St. Matthew's Goſpel, than this of St. Mark's is ſuppoſed to be. For my part, I freely own, that if it could be proved, that St. Mark made St. Matthew's Goſpel, lying before him, his main guide in writing his hiſtory, I ſhould very much queſtion whether he were inſpired at all or no. The little neceſſity there was for inſpiration, or the influences of the Spirit, to aſſiſt a perſon in tranſcribing another man's book, is a ſufficient argument, there was no inſpiration at all. I conclude therefore, upon the ſuppoſition of St. Mark's Goſpel being inſpired, that it was not tranſcribed or extracted out of St. Matthew's.

Beſides, to argue further upon the ſame ſuppoſition, how odd does it ſound to hear a Chriſtian ſay; "the Holy Spirit "inſpired one perſon to write a hiſtory, and then inſpired an- "other perſon to abridge it? The Holy Spirit thought fit at "firſt to have ſo much wrote, but then afterwards, that it "ſhould not be quite ſo much." This is to make the Holy Spirit to cut off the ſuperfluities of his own works. But this is an abſurdity ſo great, that no one ſure will be willing to defend; and yet defended it muſt be, and certainly true it is, if St. Mark be an epitome of St. Matthew.

It may indeed be objected here, that the ſame difficulty attends the account I have given out of the antients, of the original manner of St. Mark's writing, as does attend the ſuppo-

ſition

ſition of his being an epitomizer. It may be ſaid, inſpiration was as little neceſſary to St. Mark writing from St. Peter's mouth, as tranſcribing out of St. Matthew's Goſpel.

To this, I think, it is ſufficient to anſwer, that, if the account that has been given be true, viz. that St. Mark wrote what he heard St. Peter preach, the inſpiration muſt be rather ſuppoſed in St. Peter, than in St. Mark, who was only as his ſcribe or amanuenſis; and ſo no more was required of him, than faithfully to write down, what St. Peter told him. Hence Euſebius tells out of Clemens Alexandrinus, that, when St. Mark had wrote down, what he had heard St. Peter preach, St. Peter, ἀποκαλύψαντος αὐτῷ τῷ πνεύματος, *by the inſtigation of the Holy Spirit, approved and confirmed this Goſpel, for the uſe of the Churches*[a].

Arg. VII. St. Mark's Goſpel is not an epitome of St. Matthew's, becauſe the ſuppoſing it to be ſo, *detracts from its honour, and uſefulneſs*. The enemies of revealed religion may many ways improve ſuch a conceſſion, to the leſſening the juſt eſteem we ought to have for this ſacred Book. To ſay this Goſpel is only an abridgment of another, makes it liable to the opprobrious charge of being ſtolen, and its author to the black name of being a plagiary. An epitome indeed of another perſon's work, known and owned to be ſuch, is not in the leaſt liable to this charge; but for a perſon to tranſcribe the greateſt part of another's book, to publiſh it in the world under his own name, without the leaſt hint or intimation, that he did make uſe of that other perſon's book, though he have the beſt ends and deſigns in his work, will be looked upon as a ſort of pious fraud. This is not only, what might be reaſonably imagined and ſuppoſed, but has been really matter of fact. For as long ſince as *the latter end of the fourth century* (in Jerome's time), Ruffinus plainly called it *religioſum furtum, a religious theft*; and Pighius, a great advocate for

[a] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 15. I own indeed, Euſebius, citing this account of Clemens in another place, ſeems to make it contrary to this, as though St. Peter *did neither encourage nor diſcourage this undertaking of St. Mark*. Vid. lib. 6. c. 14. For the reconciliation of which difference, I ſhall only refer the reader to Valeſius's notes on the place laſt cited.

Popery

Popery in the beginning of the Reformation, mightily pleaſed himſelf with theſe words of Ruffinus, deſigning, ſays my author Chemnitius[a], *thereby to leſſen the authority of the Scripture.* Hence Spinoza and Father Simon (who were two as true enemies, as ever the ſacred volume met with) have endeavoured to perſuade us, that the ſeveral books of the Old Teſtament, are only *extracts and abridgments of ſome larger records.* The former (Spinoza), after he had largely endeavoured to prove, that the five books of the law were not wrote by Moſes, but a long time afterwards, and alſo that the ſucceeding hiſtories of Joſhua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel I. and II. the books of Kings I. and II. were wrote a great many ages after the perſons, who are mentioned in them, were dead, concludes they were *all wrote by Ezra, and that they are only epitomes or abridgments of ſome larger records, which he made uſe of*[b]. The ſame alſo is his opinion concerning the books of the Prophets; "When, ſays he, I cloſely conſider the "books of the Prophets, I perceive the prophecies, which are "contained in them, were collected out of other books; and "that they are not in the ſame order, in which they were ſaid "or wrote by the Prophets, &c. Wherefore theſe books are "only ſcraps and fragments of the Prophets[c]." Father Simon's opinion, and his conjectures to ſupport it, are ſo very like thoſe of Spinoza, that there can be no doubt but he borrowed his hints (however, the greateſt part of them) from him; he tells us expreſsly[d], "That it evidently appears, that "the moſt part of the Holy Scriptures, that are come to us, "are but abridgments and ſummaries of antient acts, which "were kept in the regiſtries of the Hebrews." It is very eaſy

[a] Pighius delectatur Ruffini verbis, qui Evangelium Marci vocat *religioſum furtum*; ut, ſcilicet, eo facilius Scripturæ auctoritatem poſſet extenuare. Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trident. Par. 1. De Script. Evangeliſt.

[b] Tractat. Theolog. Polit. c. 8. & c. 9. Heſdras (eum pro prædictorum librorum ſcriptore habebo)—non aliud fecit, quam hiſtorias ex diverſis ſcriptoribus colligere.

[c] Cum ad hos (ſcil. Prophetas) attendo, video Prophetias, quæ in iis continentur, ex aliis libris collectas fuiſſe; neque in hiſce eodem ordine ſemper deſcribi, quo ab ipſis Prophetis dictæ vel ſcriptæ fuerunt. —Quare hi libri non niſi fragmenta Prophetarum ſunt. c. 10.

[d] Critic. Hiſt. of the Old Teſt. B. I. c. 2.

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to perceive, the deſign of theſe gentlemen in this their opinion, was to leſſen the value and authority of the ſacred Scriptures; the former, that he might baniſh at once all reveal'd religion out of the world; the latter, that he might advance the honour of the Church and prieſthood, to which he belonged. And indeed the method now mentioned, ſeems to have a very natural and direct tendency to the end they aimed at. It is impoſſible to have the ſame value for the ſacred Books, which we ought to have, if we believe them to be only extracts out of ſome records and regiſtries, that we know nothing of. There is indeed this difference between the opinion of Spinoza and Father Simon, concerning the books of the Old Teſtament, and the common one of St. Mark's being an epitome of St. Matthew, that they ſuppoſe the original records, out of which the books of the Old Teſtament were taken, are all loſt, but the book, out of which St. Mark was taken, we have ſtill; this indeed is true, but let it be conſidered, that this difference makes them more neceſſary and uſeful, and St. Mark leſs ſo. As there could not be any very good reaſon, which could induce St. Mark, to make an abſtract of St. Matthew's Goſpel (as has been in part argued already[a]), ſo it could not be (if a mere abridgment) of any great uſe, when it was made. Upon what grounds could St. Mark believe his epitome would be more uſeful than St. Matthew's original? An epitome of a hiſtory, every particular part whereof is abſolutely neceſſary to be known by all thoſe, who could know them, would be but of very little uſe to them, that either had or could procure the original.

Laſtly, The ſuppoſing St. Mark's Goſpel to be an epitome of St. Matthew, *does in a great meaſure invalidate, and ſet aſide his teſtimony to the truth of the Goſpel hiſtory.* If his Goſpel be taken out of St. Matthew's, then it is evident, that his teſtimony depends upon, and conſequently amounts to no more, than the ſingle teſtimony of St. Matthew. It is true indeed, that an account of a matter of fact, atteſted by one credible and duly qualified witneſs, is ſufficient to ſatisfy any

[a] Pag. 54.

reaſonable

reaſonable and unprejudiced mind, and conſequently one of the Goſpels would have been enough, to have rendered thoſe, who rejected Chriſtianity, inexcuſable; yet ſince men's minds are naturally ſo corrupt, the more evidence and teſtimonies we have, the more ſtrong and confirmed our faith is like to be, and we have greater probability of convincing unbelievers. Now, as has been ſaid, if St. Mark's Goſpel be taken out of St. Matthew's, it is of no uſe nor ſervice in this reſpect. But on the other hand, if we receive the account we have from all antiquity, that he wrote his Goſpel from the mouth of St. Peter; we have another very good evidence for the truth of Chriſtianity, even the teſtimony of one, who was continually with our Saviour, from the beginning of his publick miniſtry till his aſcenſion.

Now from all that has been ſaid, I hope it is very reaſonable to conclude, that St. Mark's Goſpel is not an epitome of St. Matthew's. If the accounts we have from antiquity be of any value, that he wrote it at Rome from St. Peter's mouth; if he relates the ſame ſtories much larger than St. Matthew does; if he relates the ſame accounts with very different, and ſeemingly contrary circumſtances to thoſe of St. Matthew's; if he gives us an account of ſeveral very conſiderable things, which St. Matthew does not ſo much as hint at; if he omits ſeveral conſiderable hiſtories; if the ſuppoſing this Goſpel an epitome, makes its inſpiration more dubious and uncertain, and invalidates its teſtimony to the truth of Chriſtianity; if all theſe things are ſo, then there can be nothing more reaſonable, than to conclude, *that St. Mark's Goſpel is not an epitome of St. Matthew's.*

I might, if it were neceſſary, carry this matter ſomewhat further, and make it at leaſt probable, that neither of the three Evangeliſts (St. Matthew, St. Mark, or St. Luke) had ſo much as ſeen the Goſpel of the other, when he himſelf wrote. For had either of them ſeen the Goſpel of the other, it is very probable they would not have gone about to write the ſame things, which were wrote before: and hence it is very obſervable that St. John, who (as will appear hereafter) ſaw the Goſpels of the other three, does not relate the ſame facts, which

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he ſaw the other three had done before him. I am partly beholden to Mr. Le Clerc[a] for this obſervation, and partly to the learned Mr. Dodwell[b], who endeavours alſo by ſeveral other arguments, to prove the point I am now contending for. Upon the whole, that which is moſt probable, is, that the Evangeliſts, who were ſcattered up and down the earth, into very diſtant countries, to preach the Goſpel; by the ſolicitation and importunity of thoſe whom they converted, were prevailed upon to write down the ſubſtance of what they had preached to them; in which good undertaking, God by his Spirit was pleaſed to aſſiſt them, keeping them from all error, *leading them* (according to his promiſe, John xvi. 13.) *into all truth*, and *bringing* (as our Saviour had foretold he ſhould do, John xiv. 26.) *all things to their remembrance, whatſoever he had ſaid unto them.*

CHAP. XI.

If it be allowed that St. Mark did epitomize St. Matthew; it will not from thence follow, that our preſent Copies of St. Matthew are miſplaced, and contrary to the Order, originally intended by the Evangeliſt.

SINCE then St. Mark did not make uſe of St. Matthew's Goſpel in compiling of his, it is very evident, that Mr. Whiſton hath failed in his *main proof*, in what he calls his

[a] Quoi qu'ils n'aient pas vû les écrits les uns des autres: car ils n'auroient pas redit ce qu'ils auroient vû avoir été publié avant eux, ſurtout par des Apôtres. Auſſi remarque-t-on que St. Jean, qui a vû ſans doute les autres Evangiles, a évité de redire les mêmes choſes. See his French Teſt. at Luk. i. 1.

[b] Sed et reliquos ab invicem non fuiſſe viſos Evangeliſtas vel exinde ſuſpicio eſt, quod primo illi prædicationis anno res geſtas duntaxat enarrent; reliquorum annorum Paſchatumque memoriam ſolus conſervavit S. Joannes Evangeliſta: unde poſſet quis fortaſſe colligere, viſa eſſe ab eo et probata, ſuppletaque deceſſorum Evangelia. Diſſertat. 1. in Iren. §. 39.

moſt

moſt authentick evidence, and *moſt convincing argument*, to prove, that *the former part of St. Matthew's Goſpel in our preſent copies is very much miſplaced, contrary to the method originally intended by the Evangeliſt.* But

II. If it were to be granted that St. Mark did abridge St. Matthew, yet it would by no means follow, that our *preſent copies of St. Matthew's Goſpel are not in their true and firſt intended order.* Let us then ſuppoſe St. Mark's Goſpel to be an epitome, and conſider how Mr. Whiſton[a] does argue upon that ſuppoſition. "If, ſays he, St. Mark was the epitomizer "of St. Matthew, and had his hiſtory before him, when he "wrote his own; it will follow, that either that copy of St. "Matthew, which he made uſe of, was in a different order "from that which we now have (in the chapters under conſi-"deration); or elſe that he knew the order of his copy to be "wrong, and contrary to the original one, and ſo reduced it in "his epitome to the true and regular ſeries of events, which "he learned from St. Peter. Now either of theſe is ſufficient "for my preſent purpoſe; for it is evident that St. Mark does "not obſerve the order of the preſent copies of St. Matthew "(whom he epitomizes), in that part we are ſpeaking of. &c."

This is Mr. Whiſton's arguing; but, with ſubmiſſion to ſo great a judgment, I think it is very far from being concluſive, as will very evidently appear by the following conſideration; viz. St. Mark making uſe of a copy of St. Matthew's Goſpel, which was exactly the ſame with our preſent copies of that Goſpel, might deviate and recede from St. Matthew's order, and yet not believe that order to be wrong, and contrary to the original one intended by St. Matthew. Mr. Whiſton has here very artificially joined two things together, as the ſame, which are certainly different. *To be wrong in reſpect of the order of time, and to be contrary to the original copy*, are certainly two things very diſtinct. St. Mark's being ſuppoſed an epitome of St. Matthew's, proves indeed the former, viz. that he believed St. Matthew not to have obſerved the order of time in every particular, but not the latter. Why might he

[a] P. 102.

not,

not, even having St. Matthew's Goſpel lying before him, ſometimes relate his hiſtories in a different order from that of St. Matthew? He might eaſily perceive it was not St. Matthew's deſign (as indeed it was not his own in every particular inſtance), to relate all things exactly in the order, in which they came to paſs; and therefore might, if at any time he ſaw juſt occaſion, recede from his order. Certainly this is a much more reaſonable ſuppoſition, than that our preſent copies of St. Matthew are ſo much confuſed and diſordered. For making the matter more clear, I would illuſtrate my argument by the following example.

Let us ſuppoſe, that, when Lucius Florus made his abridgment of Livy's Hiſtory, there were ſeveral branches of it, which were not placed by Livy exactly according to the order of time, in which they came to paſs, but interſperſed up and down in the hiſtory, as the circumſtances required. Let us ſuppoſe further, that Florus in his epitome had taken every one of theſe particulars, and placed them according to the moſt exact order of time, in which they came to paſs. Are we under any neceſſity of concluding, either that Florus knew his copy of Livy to be wrong, and contrary to the original one, or that the copies of Livy are ſince corrupted and diſordered? By no means. Now this is exactly the caſe here, and therefore I conclude, that although St. Mark did make uſe of St. Matthew's Goſpel in writing his, yet it does not follow, that our preſent copies of St. Matthew are confuſed and miſplaced.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The particular Branches of St. Matthew's Goſpel, which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes miſplaced. Four Propoſitions for the diſcovering the true Order of Time in the Goſpel Hiſtory. Several of thoſe Branches which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes miſplaced, are ſo far from that, that they are in the exact Order of Time, in which they came to paſs. Inſtances of this produced.

IN the following pages[a] Mr. Whiſton proceeds to ſhew, which thoſe ſeveral branches or periods of St. Matthew's Goſpel are, which he ſuppoſes miſplaced in our preſent copies, and contrary to the order, originally intended by the Evangeliſt. They are contained in that part of the hiſtory, which is *from the twenty-third verſe of the fourth, to the end of the thirteenth chapter.*

For the uſe of thoſe, who may not have Mr. Whiſton's book, I thought it proper particularly to ſet them down; that the reader himſelf may, from the rules hereafter laid down, judge concerning thoſe, which I do not particularly conſider.

The periods of St Matthew's Goſpel, which, according to Mr. Whiſton, are miſplaced in our preſent copies.

1. The Sermon near the mount, in the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh chapters; together with ſome verſes at the end of the fourth, and part of the eighth chapter belonging thereto.

2. The voyage to the Gergeſenes, towards the end of the eighth chapter.

3. The healing of the paralytick, the calling of Levi, his feaſt, and the diſcourſe at it, in the former part of the ninth chapter.

4. The healing Jairus's daughter, with the woman that

[a] P. 103, 104, &c.

had the flux of blood in the way thither, of two blind men as he went thence, and of a dumb demoniac juſt afterwards; towards the concluſion of the ninth chapter.

5. The miſſion and inſtruction of the twelve Apoſtles, in the tenth chapter.

6. The meſſage from John in priſon, with our Saviour's anſwer, and the following diſcourſes, in the eleventh chapter.

7. The vindication of the diſciples plucking the ears of corn, with the healing the withered hand on the Sabbath, and Chriſt's avoiding the deſigns againſt him, in the beginning of the twelfth chapter.

8. The healing a blind and dumb man, and Chriſt's vindication of himſelf from the imputation of caſting out devils by Beelzebub, with many diſcourſes and parables following, in the reſt of the twelfth, and almoſt the whole thirteenth chapter.

9. The cure of the leper, juſt after the Sermon on the mount.

10. The cure of Peter's wife's mother, towards the middle of the eighth chapter.

11. Chriſt's anſwer to two, that were ready to follow him, ſucceeding the former.

12. His coming the ſecond time to Nazareth, in the end of the thirteenth chapter.

Theſe are the twelve branches of St. Matthew's Goſpel, every one of which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes to be miſplaced, and put, in our preſent copies, out of their true and originally intended order. Any one that conſiders theſe ſeveral branches, their number, ſize, &c. will be ſurprized to find ſuch diſorders here, and not ſo much as one ſingle diſorder in all the other part of this, or either of the other Goſpels. But of this I ſhall ſay more hereafter. My buſineſs now ſhall be to conſider the matter of fact, viz. whether theſe ſeveral periods are miſplaced, or not. In order to the more clear diſcuſſing of which queſtion, I ſhall lay down the following propoſitions.

Prop.

Prop. I. *Sometimes each of the three Evangeliſts, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, have related matters in a different order of time, from that in which they came to paſs.*

That ſeveral portions of St. Matthew's Goſpel are not now according to the order of time, in which the things came to paſs, is, I think, agreed by all, except the whimſical Oſiander, and after him Molineus, and Codomannus. That St. Luke did not deſign in all things to obſerve the order of time, has been already proved [a]. That St. Mark did not is alſo evident, becauſe he in ſeveral particular inſtances agrees with the order of St. Luke, which is not the order of time, as has been already hinted, and will more fully appear hereafter.

II. *The principal and almoſt only methods of diſcovering, whether any particular matter be in its proper order of time, or not, in the Goſpel Hiſtory, are theſe two, viz.*

1. *By conſidering the phraſes of tranſition or connexion, by which it is joined, either to that which precedes, or that which follows it, or both.*

2. *By comparing it with the ſame hiſtory, in one or more of the other Goſpels.*

This is ſufficiently evident to any one, who has in the leaſt conſidered the harmony of the Goſpels. Sometimes there are indeed ſome circumſtances in the ſtory itſelf, which infallibly direct us, where it is to be placed; but this is what happens but very rarely in the Goſpel hiſtory.

III. *The phraſes, by which the Evangeliſts do connect one ſtory or diſcourſe to another, are very often ſuch, as do not at all imply an immediate ſucceſſion, in point of time, to that which precedes it in the hiſtory.*

For the proof of this, I need only refer the reader, to what has been already ſaid above, Ch. V. and deſire him withal to conſider, that the phraſes or notes I mean, are ſuch as theſe; καὶ ἐγένετο· ἰδὼν δὲ· καὶ ἐλθών· περιπατῶν δὲ· καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα· &c. *and it came to paſs; and Jeſus ſeeing; and Jeſus coming; as he walked; and opening his mouth;* &c. Theſe are evidently ſuch, as can be no way notes of the order of time. I would

[a] P. 30, &c.

only obſerve here further, that ſuch as theſe are generally the phraſes, that connect the parts of the Goſpel hiſtory.

IV. On the other hand, *ſometimes two ſtories or diſcourſes are connected by ſuch a phraſe, as does neceſſarily imply the immediate ſucceſſion of one to the other, in point of time.*

This will be evident by mentioning a few of them: they are ſuch as theſe; καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους· καὶ ἰδοὺ· ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς· ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ· &c. *And when he was come down from the mountain; and behold; while he ſpake theſe things unto them; behold there came; in that hour or inſtant &c.*

Coroll. Hence it follows, that, if any two of the Evangeliſts appear to relate a fact in a different order from the third, and do not make uſe of ſuch a note, as neceſſarily joins it with the preceding or ſubſequent part of the hiſtory; the other Evangeliſt, who does uſe ſuch a note, muſt be ſuppoſed to have obſerved the order of time.

This obſervation is not only very juſt and reaſonable, but neceſſary; the want of which has apparently produced many miſtakes in the compilers of Goſpel harmonies, who have too often made the agreement of two Evangeliſts (commonly St. Mark and St. Luke) the rule of placing a ſtory, without regarding the manner of its connection with the preceding or following ſtory.

Theſe things premiſed, I will endeavour to prove the two following particulars, which will be a ſufficient confutation of Mr. Whiſton's propoſition.

I. Several of thoſe branches, which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes miſplaced, and contrary to the order originally intended by St. Matthew, are ſo far from that, that they are not out of the proper order of time, in which they came to paſs.

II. It does not appear, that any of thoſe, which are in our preſent copies placed contrary to the order of time, are contrary to the order originally intended by St. Matthew.

1. Several of thoſe branches, which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes miſplaced, and contrary to the order originally intended by St. Matthew, are ſo far from that, that they are not out of the

proper

proper order of time, in which they came to paſs. This will appear by the two following inſtances.

1. The hiſtory of the perſon whom our Lord cured of his leproſy, Matt. viii. 2—5. is not miſplaced, but in the proper order of time in which it came to paſs. It is placed by St. Matthew (ſuppoſing our preſent copies of that Goſpel to be right) as what happened immediately upon our Saviour's deſcent from the mountain, where he had been preaching; *whereas*, ſays Mr. Whiſton, *that miracle was ſome months before that ſermon.* I own indeed, ſeveral of the Goſpel harmonizers are of the ſame opinion, and the reaſon why they are ſo is, becauſe they found St. Luke (and perhaps St. Mark) to have placed this ſtory a conſiderable time *before* the Sermon on the mount. This indeed is true; but then it muſt be obſerved, that theſe two Evangeliſts have related this miracle without any expreſs notation of the time[a], when it was wrought. There is no circumſtance, nor phraſe, which connects it, either to the foregoing or the following part of the hiſtory: ſee Mark i. 40. and ii. 1. and Luke v. 12, 17. On the other hand, as it ſtands in our preſent copies of St. Matthew (as Mr. Whiſton rightly obſerves), *it is immediately ſubjoined to the Sermon on the mount, in ſuch a manner, as implies it to have happened juſt upon Chriſt's deſcent from the mount.* I appeal then to any unprejudiced perſon, whether it be not more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, the other two Evangeliſts have placed this ſtory out of the order of time, as ſometimes they are wont to do; than that it is tranſpoſed in our preſent copies of St. Matthew. This (viz. the preſent order of St. Matthew) will be abundantly confirmed, if we conſider, that there is a very good reaſon to be aſſigned, why the two other Evangeliſts have related this ſtory out of its proper order; viz. *becauſe it was wrought in a place, where the other miracles, which they had juſt before given an account of, were done.* They had before been giving an account of two miracles, which our Lord had

[a] Hæc autem eadem leproſi miraculoſe ſanati hiſtoria narratur a Marco c. i. 40. et a Luca c. v. 12. ſed ſolus Matthæus hujus miraculi tempus atque ordinem ſignificat his verbis, *Cum deſcendiſſet de monte, &c. Et ecce, &c.* Car. Mar. de Veil. ad loc.

wrought at Capernaum, viz. the caſting out the unclean ſpirit in the ſynagogue there: and after that, the recovery of Peter's mother in law from a fever (Mark i. 23—29, &c. and Luke iv. 33—38, &c.) in the ſame town. Now this miracle of the leper's cure being done at this place, they mention it here together with thoſe other miracles, though it was really done at another time. Indeed it is true, St. Luke relates, ch. v. 1, &c. the call of the four Apoſtles between theſe two miracles, and that of the leper; but this is a very great confirmation of the foregoing obſervation, becauſe this call of the Apoſtles hath been already proved, not to be in the order of time[a], and ſo is for the ſame reaſon placed here, becauſe it was in the city or ſuburbs of Capernaum. If what has been ſaid be duly conſidered, I cannot but think it will prove this branch of St. Matthew's hiſtory to be in the proper order of time. And indeed, if it be not proved, I muſt do Mr. Whiſton's hypotheſis that juſtice to own, that it is, as to this inſtance, moſt certainly true: if the ſtory of the leper be not in the proper order of time, either there muſt be a tranſpoſition in the hiſtory, or St. Matthew was miſtaken, which no body will ſuppoſe. Hence I cannot but wonder that Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Le Clere, and others, have in their Harmonies, left St. Matthew's order, and followed that of St. Mark and St. Luke. I cannot ſee how they could join the firſt and fifth verſe of this chapter, without ſuppoſing a tranſpoſition, which yet they certainly never thought of. Chemnitius[b], Oſiander, and ſome few more, are much more conſiſtent with themſelves; who imagine this in St. Matthew, and that in St. Mark and St. Luke, to be different miracles; though there ſeems to be no foundation for this ſuppoſition, but only the difference in time.

What Mr. Whiſton offers in defence of his opinion (viz. that this miracle was not wrought at this time), certainly very well deſerves to be conſidered. "St. Matthew," ſays he, "as "well as the other Evangeliſts, relates our Saviour's caution

[a] P. 30. [b] Harmon. Evang. c. 42.

"to

" to the leper, to keep the miracle ſecret; *See no man know it*; " which certainly ſhews, it was not done ſo publickly as his " preſent order implies, viz. when the multitude was pre- " ſent."

To this I anſwer, that our Lord may very well be ſuppoſed to give this charge of ſecrecy to the leper, when the multitudes were preſent; becauſe we have an inſtance of his doing the ſame, at another time, where a tranſpoſition cannot poſſibly be ſuppoſed. The place I refer to, is Matt. xii. 15, 16. *And great multitudes followed him, and he healed them all, and charged them, that they ſhould not make him known.* Beſides, there may be very good reaſons aſſigned, why our Lord ſhould give this charge in the preſence of a multitude, viz.

1. That it might appear to the multitude, *that he was not at all fond or ambitious of human applauſe, and ſo withal ſet his diſciples a lively pattern of modeſty and humility.* Our bleſſed Saviour himſelf tells us, that he *ſought not to advance his own glory*; John viii. 50. This was a character, which our Lord not only deſerved, but which he ſeemed peculiarly careful to eſtabliſh. To do this he had now (when he was come down from the mountain) a very fair opportunity. He could at once give a whole multitude to underſtand, that he did not affect or covet popular applauſe; *See thou tell no man*; i. e. *do not publiſh and blaze abroad the cure that is wrought for thee*; *I deſire not the honour, that men will be apt to give me on ſuch an account.* What could the people who were preſent conclude, but that he was a perſon of the utmoſt modeſty? Beſides, our Saviour was not only careful to be thought humble himſelf, but was concerned that his diſciples ſhould *learn of him*, and imitate his example in this reſpect: hence he tells them, Matt. xi. 29. *to learn of him*; *for*, ſays he, *I am meek and lowly in heart.* Now here, in the preſence of the multitude, he had a very fit ſeaſon to recommend the practice of this virtue to them by his own example. " Hence" ſays Theophylact[a], " our Lord, by this caution, teaches us, that we are not

[a] Vid. eum ad Marc. i.

" to make oſtentation of our virtues." And to the ſame purpoſe, Cornelius à Lapide, Zegerus, and many other learned men [a].

2. It is not at all abſurd, that our Saviour ſhould give the leper this charge of ſecrecy, in the preſence of the multitude; becauſe *hereby he gave them a very plain intimation, that he did not deſign to ſet up a temporal kingdom in the world; and ſo uſed a very likely means to prevent the ill conſequences of their entertaining ſuch an opinion of him.* Every body knows the Jewiſh nation had this expectation from the Meſſiah, that, when he came, he would deliver them from their ſubjection to the Roman power, and reſtore their kingdom to its antient grandeur. This is evident from abundance of paſſages in the New Teſtament [b]. Now it is very evident, our Lord took all poſſible methods to prevent the Jews from entertaining this opinion of him. As ſoon as he perceived their deſign to proclaim him a king, he retired, and went from them all into a mountain alone, John vi. 15. Nay it is obſervable, that our Lord ſo much declined this character, that, for this very reaſon, he forbad his diſciples to publiſh him as the Chriſt: Matt. xvi. 20. *Then charged he his diſciples, that they ſhould tell*

[a] Id juſſit ad vitandam oſtentationem, et ut nos doceret, virtutes doteſque noſtras non jactare. Ita Chryſoſtomus. Cornel. a Lapid. ad loc.

Noverat quidem Dominus illos non taciturnos (he is ſpeaking of a like inſtance); verum hoc ita præcipiens, nobis voluit humilitatis contemnendæque gloriæ præbere exemplum. Zeger. ad Mat. ix. 30.

[b] Hence it was, that the mother of Zebedee's ſons came with her petition, that her ſons might have the higheſt poſts in his kingdom. Il paroît par cette demande, que la femme de Zebedée, et ſes fils (à qui St. Marc attribue cette demande ch. x. 35.) s'attendoient toujours à un regne temporel, quoique Jeſus Chriſt leur eût pu dire au contraire, tant les préjugés de la nation Judaique étoient violens. It appears by this petition, that the wife of Zebedee, and her ſons (to whom St. Mark attributes this petition), were always in expectation of a temporal kingdom, notwithſtanding all that Jeſus Chriſt was able to ſay to the contrary, ſo very great were the prejudices of the Jewiſh nation. Le Clerc on Matt. xx. 22. This is confirmed alſo by the diſcourſe of the two diſciples, after our Lord's reſurrection, Luke xxiv. 21. *We truſted that it had been he, which ſhould have redeemed Iſrael.* And St. John tells us (ch. vi. 14, 15.), that when they were convinced by a miracle, which our Lord had wrought, that he was the true Meſſiah, they immediately were for proclaiming and making him a king.

no man that he was Jeſus the Chriſt. He knew that the idea of the Meſſiah, and that of a temporal prince, were almoſt the ſame in the minds of the Jews, at leaſt that the idea of the one implied, and was inſeparable from, the other; and therefore, that he might avoid the ſuſpicion of the latter, he would not, till after his reſurrection, be publickly owned as the former. He knew, if he had indulged them in this their opinion of him, ſeditions, tumults, and inſurrections, muſt neceſſarily have enſued. By this he had too ſoon drawn upon him the ſuſpicion of the Roman governor, and ſo had been hindered to go through the time of his publick miniſtry, which he deſigned. And now by this it appears, that a caution given to the leper, not to publiſh what was done for him, was not unreaſonable, though in the preſence of the multitude. Hereby they could not but perceive, that our Saviour had no deſign to draw great multitudes after him; which was the moſt likely method to advance him to a temporal kingdom. They could not but conclude, he was againſt being popular, and conſequently againſt being made a king. This undoubtedly was that, which, among other reaſons, influenced our Saviour to give the leper this caution; for we find that, the leper diſobeying our Lord's commands, and publiſhing his cure, he was for that reaſon obliged to retire, and could no more enter into the city, Mark i. 45. Hence it is well obſerved by Mr. Le Clerc, in an inſtance like this, that our Saviour commanded ſecrecy, that "he might not draw a great multitude of people "after him, for fear of a ſuſpicion, which might be enter-"tained, that he had no deſign but to raiſe a rebellion [a]."

3. It was not abſurd for our Saviour, at this time, to give the leper a caution of ſecrecy; becauſe his caſe and circumſtances, notwithſtanding the preſence of the multitude, ſeemed neceſſarily to require ſuch a caution. Under the Jewiſh diſpenſation, a perſon, that had been leprous, and now ſuppoſed himſelf cured, was, by divine appointment, obliged to ſubmit

[a] *Leur defendit d'en parler*, pour ne pas s'attirer plus de foule, de peur du ſoupçon, que l'on pouvoit former, qu'il ne cherchât qu'à exciter quelque ſedition. Le Clerc on Matth. ix. 30. See alſo Dr. Hammond on Matth. viii. 4.

himſelf

himſelf to the examination of the Prieſt, whether it were ſo or not; Levit. xiii. Now had this miraculous cure of his been ſpread abroad, and reached the Prieſt's ears, before this was done, there ſeems to have been danger of the two following ill conſequences.

1. Very probably the malice of the Prieſts would have carried them ſo far, that when they found he was cured by a perſon, whom they ſo mortally hated, they would not have pronounced him clean. This is the opinion of Grotius, Le Clerc, Dr. Whitby, &c. For the confirmation of it, Grotius urges, that the miracle was wrought in Galilee, a great diſtance from Jeruſalem, where the Prieſts were; and that our Saviour (according to St. Mark's account, ch. i. 43.) ſent him away in haſte, leſt the fame of the miracle ſhould reach the Prieſts' ears, before he could get there.

2. Had this ſtory been told to the Prieſts, it is very likely it would have raiſed their malice againſt our Saviour, and incited them to perſecute him, under the ſpecious pretence of his having taken upon him, to do that which belonged to the office, and was the ſole prerogative, of the Prieſts [a], viz. pronouncing a leprous perſon clean.

From all that has been ſaid, I think it is very reaſonable to conclude, that our Saviour might give the leper a charge, not to publiſh what was done for him, till he had been with the Prieſt, though there were ſeveral people preſent when the cure was wrought; and then there ſeems not to be any reaſon, but we may conclude this hiſtory is in its proper order of time.

2. Another inſtance of a hiſtory, which in our preſent copies is in its due and proper order of time, and yet ſuppoſed by Mr. Whiſton to be miſplaced, is that of the two perſons, who came to our Saviour, profeſſing their readineſs to follow him, Matth. viii. 19, &c. It is placed in St. Matthew, between our Saviour's ordering a ſhip to be got ready, and his entering

[a] Il ſemble que notre Seigneur ne vouloit pas s'attirer la haine des ſacrificateurs, à qui la Loi donnoit le droit de juger, ſi un homme étoit gueri de la lépre, ou non. It is probable, our Saviour had not a mind to draw upon himſelf the hatred of the Prieſts, to whom the Law had given the power of judging, whether a perſon was cured of his leproſy, or not. Le Clerc ad loc.

into

into it. And there cannot be any probable reaſon aſſigned, why it ſhould be placed any where elſe; for

1. *It is a hiſtory not mentioned by either of the other Evangeliſts.* St. Luke indeed (ch. ix. 57, &c.) has an account exceedingly like this; but Mr. Whiſton himſelf (as well as ſeveral other harmonizers) ſuppoſes theſe to be two different hiſtories; and conſequently the order of time, in this inſtance, is not to be proved from either of the other Evangeliſts.

2. *The circumſtances of the hiſtory are all ſuch as agree very exactly with that part of St. Matthew's hiſtory, in which it is placed in our preſent copies.* At what time is it more likely to ſuppoſe, that perſons ſhould come to Chriſt, and declare their willingneſs to go along with him, than juſt then, when they had heard him give orders to get a ſhip ready, to go to another country? And when could our Saviour more properly make the anſwer, which he here does (viz. *The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have neſts, but the ſon of man hath not where to lay his head*), than at this time, when he was leaving his own habitation and city, and going to travel in a ſtrange country? There cannot be any place in the whole Goſpel hiſtory, where it will be more agreeable to the context, than here. Mr. Whiſton has however placed it after this voyage to the Gergeſenes, which as, I think, no one beſides him has done, ſo no good reaſon can be aſſigned for his doing ſo. The reaſons which he offers for his placing it thus, are,

1. *That theſe accounts are, in our preſent copies, interpoſed between two verſes, which are perfectly coherent, and have a manifeſt connection without them.* This is indeed true, but does not imply the leaſt abſurdity in St. Matthew's preſent order. This branch is only a relation of ſomething, which came to paſs between our Saviour's ordering his diſciples to get a ſhip ready, and his going into it. It is true, if it had been entirely omitted, and St. Matthew had told us of our Saviour's entering into the ſhip, immediately after he had given orders to prepare it, the connection had been very good and juſt: but if a ſtory be told of ſomewhat, which happened in the mean time, it does not at all ſpoil the connection, as evidently

dently appears by conſidering it. Ver. 18. our Saviour gives commandment to ſome of his diſciples, to go down out of the city to the ſea-ſide, to prepare a veſſel to carry them over to the other ſide: when they were gone, and *while the ſhip was getting ready* (as Dr. Wells rightly paraphraſes the place), or *preparing for their departure* (as Dr. Whitby), theſe perſons came to our Saviour; he gave them their anſwers; and then went on board [a].

2. Mr. Whiſton further argues, "that the nature of our "Saviour's anſwer to the Scribe, ver. 20. *(The foxes have "holes, and the birds of the air have neſts; but the ſon of man "hath not where to lay his head)* plainly ſhews, that theſe ac- "counts ought to follow the voyage to the Gergeſenes. For "ſuch an anſwer (ſays he) there could be no occaſion before "this voyage; but after it, when he had been juſt expelled "by the Gergeſenes, there was the fitteſt opportunity ima- "ginable for ſuch a complaint." Mr. Whiſton will excuſe me that I am forced to obſerve, that he has not been ſo cautious, as he is wont to be, in this matter. The place, which he aſſigns to this branch of the hiſtory in his Harmony, does moſt evidently overthrow his own argument for placing it as he does. This will undeniably appear, if we conſider, that the place (according to our preſent copies of St. Matthew) where our Saviour had this conference with the Scribe, was Capernaum, which is called Chriſt's own city, and lay cloſe by the ſea-ſide. This is manifeſt by the context. Now, ſays Mr. Whiſton, at the place, where it is ſaid to be in our preſent copies of St. Matthew, i. e. at Capernaum, there could be no occaſion for that anſwer, *The foxes have holes, the birds* &c. (the reaſon of which muſt be, becauſe our Saviour was then in his own city, where his habitation was); and yet in his Harmony he has himſelf placed this very ſame hiſtory at Capernaum, when our Saviour was returned home [b]. A plain

[a] Dumque alii ex diſcipulis artis nauticæ periti parant, ut navem parent, atque Dominum venientem ſuſcipiant, in viâ ipſum ſcriba, et unus ex diſcipulis adeunt, animi ſui voluntatem ipſi proponentes, et quiſque eorum ſeorſim ſuum reſponſum a Domino accipit. Chemn. Harm. Evang. cap. 63.

[b] P. 301.

inſtance,

inſtance, how far the minds of the moſt learned men are biaſſed by their favourite and preconceived opinions. I conclude therefore, that this branch alſo of St. Matthew's hiſtory is ſo far from being miſplaced, that it is in its proper order of time. It would be tedious to prove this of all the other inſtances. A due application of the rules laid down in the beginning of this chapter, will ſhew us, that there are ſeveral of the other branches, that are in the order of time in which they came to paſs, which are not only by Mr. Whiſton, but ſome others, ſuppoſed not to be ſo.

CHAP. XIII.

None of thoſe Branches, which are not according to the Order of Time, in this Part of St. Matthew's Goſpel, are miſplaced. This evidenced by conſidering ſeveral of them.

II. ALTHOUGH there are ſeveral paragraphs or periods in this part of St. Matthew's hiſtory, which are not according to the order of time; *yet it does not appear, that any of them are miſplaced, or put into an order, different from that originally intended by the Evangeliſt.* It having been already proved, that theſe ſacred writers did not always intend ſtrictly to obſerve that order, in which the facts they relate came to paſs; it follows, that we are not haſtily to conclude, that a hiſtory is miſplaced, becauſe it is not in that order. This is for the moſt part Mr. Whiſton's argument, there being in ſeveral of the particulars, which he aſſerts to be miſplaced, not ſo much as an attempt to prove any more, than that they are not in the true order of time; though, in other inſtances, there ſeems at the firſt ſight to be ſomething more.

For the clear diſcuſſing of this matter, I muſt obſerve, that *the almoſt only method, by which it is poſſible to diſcover whether a ſtory be miſplaced or not, is by conſidering the notes of its coherence with the context.* If it be apparent, by comparing any

period

period of the hiſtory with the other Evangeliſts, that it is not in its proper order of time, and if it have ſuch a note of coherence, as neceſſarily joins it with the foregoing or following ſtory (as it ſtands in our preſent copies); we muſt conclude, either that the Evangeliſt was miſtaken in writing, or that our copies are corrupted and altered, ſince he wrote. The queſtion then in this matter lies principally in this, viz. *whether in this part of St. Matthew's Goſpel, there are any periods of the hiſtory, which are not in the order of time; and yet, as they ſtand in our preſent copies, are neceſſarily connected, either with the foregoing or following part of the hiſtory.* Of this ſort there is not one; but, on the other hand, all thoſe that are really out of the order of time, are laid by the Evangeliſt in his hiſtory, in ſuch a manner, as plainly evidences that he had no deſign that we ſhould believe, that he intended to place them in that order.

I do not think it neceſſary, diſtinctly to conſider all theſe particular branches, becauſe, in ſo doing, I ſhall be obliged to a dull repetition of the ſame things again and again; I ſhall only mention ſome, and, among them, thoſe which ſeem moſt conſiderable.

The cure of Peter's mother-in-law, ch. viii. 14, &c. is placed by St. Matthew after the Sermon on the Mount; whereas it is plain, from the other Evangeliſts, that this miracle was wrought a conſiderable time before. But then it is introduced by St. Matthew, and laid in his hiſtory in ſuch a manner, as makes it plain, that he had no deſign we ſhould think it was in the order of time. He begins it thus, Καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Πέτρου, &c. *and when Jeſus was come into Peter's houſe*, &c. But on the other hand, St. Mark and St. Luke have ſo connected this ſtory with the former, that it is impoſſible to ſeparate the one from the other. They both agree that our Saviour went from the ſynagogue immediately to St. Peter's houſe, and there wrought this miracle: ſee Mark i. 29, &c. and Luke iv. 38, &c. [a]

The

[a] Marcus certiorem notationem temporis et ordinis ſervat.—Manifeſtum eſt Matthæum—non ſervaſſe ordinem—unde et tali uſus eſt locutione,

The ſame may be argued in reſpect of the other branches, viz. *the miſſion, and inſtruction of the twelve Apoſtles*, chap. x. 1, &c. and *the ſending of John's diſciples to Chriſt*, chap. xi. 2, &c. which, being out of the order of time, are not connected to the context, by any notations of that order.

Of the other ſeven branches, there are two, or perhaps more, that ſeem to be in the ſame order, in which they came to paſs; though I muſt own, there are alſo two, which ſeem not to be in the order of time; and yet have ſuch notes of time prefixed to them, as ſeem to imply immediate ſucceſſion. It is neceſſary that both theſe inſtances be particularly conſidered.

1. The firſt is the cure of Jairus's daughter, ch. ix. 18, &c. "This (ſays Mr. Whiſton) ſo immediately follows the "diſcourſe at Levi's feaſt, and with ſuch an expreſs notation "of the very moment of time, as is peculiarly remarkable, "Ταῦτα αὐτῦ λαλῦντος αὐτοῖς, &c. *as he was ſpeaking, or whilſt "he ſpake, theſe things unto them, behold a ruler*, &c. So that "no unbiaſſed reader could imagine the leaſt ſpace poſſible "interpoſed between them; whereas above a half a year was "gone, after the feaſt of Levi, before the healing of Jairus's "daughter. An undeniable inſtance of the diſlocations be-"fore-mentioned in this Goſpel; and I think I may well "call it an undeniable one, ſince truly it was ſo to me. For "though, at the firſt, I durſt not ſo far depend upon the other "notes of time, as to believe the preſent order of this part of "St. Matthew to be different from the original one; yet "when I came to this, after a little attempt, I found it impoſ-"ſible to be got over, &c." This inſtance therefore is plainly the main ſupport of Mr. Whiſton's hypotheſis; and I own indeed it ſeems very much to his purpoſe, though, upon a cloſe examination, I find it will not prove what he deſigns it ſhould. There are ſeveral more probable methods of accounting for the difficulty, than by ſuppoſing a diſlocation; but

tione, quæ non neceſſario exigit ordinem conſequentiæ eorum, quæ narrantur; dicit enim, *Et cum veniſſent in domum Petri*, &c. Chemnit. Harmon. Evang. cap. 38.

before

before I come particularly to conſider any, I think it neceſſary a little more clearly to ſtate the caſe.

St. Matthew, ch. ix. 9. gives us an account of his call by our Saviour to follow him; ver. 10. he tells us of a feaſt at his houſe, where many publicans and ſinners were alſo preſent; ver. 11. he informs us of a queſtion, put by the Phariſees to our Saviour's diſciples, concerning his eating with ſinners; and ver. 12, 13, our Saviour's anſwer; after this, ver. 14. we have an account of John's diſciples coming to Chriſt, and aſking him, why his diſciples did not faſt? and ver. 15, 16, 17. our Saviour's anſwer to their queſtion, *which whilſt he was giving, Jairus came*, ver. 18. But, ſays Mr. Whiſton, there was half a year's ſpace between the feaſt of Levi, and Jairus's coming to Chriſt. This is indeed eaſily aſſerted; but not the leaſt reaſon offered for the aſſertion. It were to be wiſhed, that in this, as well as other inſtances, he had told us, for what reaſons he ſuppoſes them to be out of the order of time. A bare aſſerting that a ſtory is ſo much too ſoon, or ſo much too late, or a referring us to his Harmony, where he has ſo placed it, cannot be thought ſufficient; and indeed, this is all that Mr. Whiſton has done in this, and ſeveral other inſtances. But this is too conſiderable a point to be given up ſo eaſily. For the ſake of ſtating the caſe more fully, let us conſider the reaſon of this aſſertion. It is in ſhort only this, that St. Mark and St. Luke place a great many of our Lord's diſcourſes and miracles, between this feaſt of St. Matthew and the diſcourſes which follow it, and the coming of Jairus to our Saviour. The former is placed by St. Mark, ch. ii. 14, &c. and by St. Luke, ch. v. 27, &c. The latter by St. Mark, ch. v. 22, &c. and St. Luke, ch. viii. 41, &c. This is the difficulty, for the ſolution of which there may be two or three expedients, but I ſhall only make uſe of one, which is, that *of ſuppoſing there was ſome time interpoſed between St. Matthew's being called to be an Apoſtle, and his entertaining our Saviour at his houſe.* This ſuppoſed, will reconcile the Evangeliſts, and make St. Matthew's notation of the time, when Jairus came, to be very juſt and proper. Let us then ſuppoſe,

poſe, that St. Matthew was called at the time, where St. Mark and St. Luke place it, viz. before the ſermon on the Mount, and the voyage to the Gergeſenes (and this indeed is probable), and that thoſe Evangeliſts, having a mind to finiſh *at once and together*, all they deſigned to ſay concerning St. Matthew in particular, mentioned there alſo his feaſt, and the diſcourſe at it, though they were ſome time after his call. On the other hand, let us ſuppoſe, that St. Matthew being about to mention his feaſt, and the diſcourſe at it, in its proper order of time (viz. ſoon after the return from the country of the Gergeſenes), premiſed there the account of his call, which yet was ſome time before. If this be allowed, then there is no abſurdity in ſuppoſing Jairus's coming to Chriſt, while he was talking to John's diſciples at Levi's feaſt. I own indeed the preceding hypotheſis is not entirely my own; I received the firſt hints of it from Chemnitius and Dr. Lightfoot, and thereupon examined into the matter with the utmoſt diligence and impartiality; and after having weighed all the ſeveral circumſtances of the ſtories under conſideration, I made the following obſervations, which ſeem to ſupport the account that has been given.

1. *There are many inſtances of a like nature with this, both among the writers of the Goſpel hiſtory, and other hiſtorians.* It is a very common thing with all writers, when they deſign to ſay but little of a perſon in their hiſtory, to join it all together, although what they relate came to paſs at very diſtant times. This has been already ſhewn [a], and is very evident in the caſe of Shimei, 1 Kings ii. 36, &c. His building a houſe at Jeruſalem, and his being put to death, are connected together (like St. Matthew's call and feaſt), though they were plainly three years diſtant in point of time. But this is an obſervation, too common and obvious to need any inſtances to be produced to ſupport it.

2. The ſuppoſing St. Matthew's call and feaſt to have been at two different times, *does not make the hiſtory of either of the Evangeliſts at all the more inaccurate.* It is ſo far from giving

[a] P. 40.

colour to any ſuch charge, that it is really the beſt method of writing a hiſtory, as has been proved above [a].

3. It is very obſervable, *that neither of the three Evangeliſts do join the account of Levi's call, and his feaſt together, by any ſuch notes of time or phraſes, as imply the immediate ſucceſſion of one to the other.* St. Matthew and St. Mark, after having related the call, ſubjoin the ſtory of the feaſt, introduced thus, Καὶ ἐγένετο, *and it came to paſs.* St. Luke only tells us, that *Matthew made him a feaſt*, not at all ſpecifying the time, when it was made.

4. It is alſo remarkable, that St. Mark and St. Luke, when they had finiſhed the account of Levi's feaſt, and the diſcourſe at it, *do not join the following hiſtory to this with any note of time, ſo as to imply that it immediately followed it.* But on the other hand, both of them begin the next ſtory thus, Καὶ ἐγένετο, *and it came to paſs*, Mark ii. 22, 23. and Luke v. ult. and vi. 1. Now hence it follows, according to the corollary above, p. 92. that St. Matthew, who has prefixed a plain note of time to this hiſtory, is to be ſuppoſed to have obſerved the right order of time.

5. *The ſtory of Jairus's coming to our Saviour, cannot be placed any where elſe in St. Matthew's Goſpel, but where it is in our preſent copies.* This will appear from the phraſe, by which it is introduced, Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς, *while he was ſpeaking theſe things unto them.* It is plain, that, when St. Matthew wrote this, it immediately followed ſome diſcourſe of our Lord's to *ſeveral perſons.* But I aſſert, upon a cloſe review of all the branches of this part of the hiſtory, there is not any one of them, after which St. Matthew can poſſibly be ſuppoſed to have wrote it, but after the diſcourſe, to which it is now ſubjoined in our preſent copies. Hence it is very ridiculous in Mr. Le Clerc, and ſome other harmonizers, to place this period of the hiſtory after that which is not a diſcourſe of our Saviour's, but the words of the hiſtorian, viz. thoſe, Matt. viii. 33. Mr. Whiſton indeed has placed it after a diſcourſe of our Saviour's to one of his diſciples, Matt.

[a] Ibid.

viii.

viii. 22. but it is certain it was not wrote by St. Matthew, immediately after that branch, becauſe that has been proved to be in its proper order of time [a]. Beſides, the words immediately preceding, according to Mr. Whiſton's Harmony, are, Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἀκολούθει μοι, καὶ ἄφες, &c. *But Jeſus ſaid unto* him, *Follow* thou *me, and do* thou *ſuffer the dead*, &c. Our Saviour is ſpeaking to one perſon in the ſingular number; and is it then likely, that St. Matthew's next words ſhould be, Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς, *While he was ſpeaking to* them, &c. in the plural number? But now as it ſtands in our preſent copies, *ſpeaking to them* (αὐτοῖς) very well follows the diſcourſe with John's diſciples. All this conſidered, makes it, I think, exceeding probable, that Jairus's coming to our Saviour was immediately after the diſcourſe, that immediately precedes it in our preſent copies; and conſequently, if that diſcourſe was at Levi's feaſt, that feaſt is now in its proper order: and ſo, if the call of Matthew was at that other time, where St. Mark and St. Luke do place it, the call and the feaſt were at two different times.

6. This will be yet further confirmed, if we conſider the place where St. Mark and St. Luke relate this account of Jairus's coming to Chriſt. They place it immediately after the hiſtory of our Saviour's return from the country of the Gergeſenes, and not after any diſcourſe of our Lord's immediately preceding it. Now it is certain by St. Matthew's account, that it was at a time when our Lord was diſcourſing with ſeveral people; it is plain therefore, that, in St. Mark and St. Luke's account, this ſtory does not in point of time immediately follow that which it follows in the hiſtory, but ſome diſcourſe of our Lord intervened in the mean time. Now either this intervening diſcourſe is ſomewhere related in theſe Goſpels of St. Mark and St. Luke, or it is not. If we ſay it is, there can be no doubt, but that it is the diſcourſe, which now immediately precedes it in our preſent copies of St. Matthew, and ſo the diſpute is ended. On the other hand, to ſay it is not, ſeems very unreaſonable, when we conſider that

[a] P. 99, &c.

the discourse, which immediately precedes it in St. Matthew, is in these Gospels; and that a very good reason has been assigned, why they put it in another place, viz. because they had a mind to relate St. Matthew's call and feast, and the discourse at it, all together.

7. It may not be improper to observe, that in the antient Harmonies of Tatian and Ammonius (one of which was made in the second, and the other in the beginning of the third century), St. Matthew's call and feast were placed at two very distant times, and many histories interposed between them [a]. Austin, in his excellent treatise of the Harmony of the Gospels, by a very good argument, proved that St. Matthew's call is not in his Gospel in the right order of time, but was before the sermon in the Mount; because, says he, *St. Luke mentions St. Matthew among the rest of the Apostles, that were with our Saviour in the Mount* (ch. vi. 15.). He seems indeed to have been inclined to believe, that the feast was some time after the call; and hence Gerson, Chemnitius, and many others, have imagined this Father of that opinion; but it is very plain to any one, who will consider his words closely, they have mistaken his meaning [b].

Thus I have endeavoured, by several arguments, to confirm the supposition of Levi's call and feast, being at two different times, and by a great deal of pains have endeavoured to get over a difficulty, which Mr. Whiston, *after a little attempt, concluded impossible to be got over.* There is indeed another way of solving this difficulty, proposed by Dr. Wells, in his late paraphrase on this place. That I may not misrepre-

[a] Atque hoc modo vetustissimæ etiam Harmoniæ Tatiani et Ammonii distincte ponunt, primo vocationem Matthæi, et post convivium Matthæi in alio loco Harmoniæ, ut alio tempore post factum, collocant. Chemnit. Harm. Evang. cap. 43. in princ.

[b] Hinc autem probabilius videtur, quod hæc prætermissa recordando Matthæus commemorat; quia utique ante illum sermonem in monte habitum, credendum est vocatum esse Matthæum: in eo quippe monte, tunc Lucas commemorat omnes duodecim ex pluribus Discipulis electos, quos et Apostolos nominavit. *Afterwards speaking of his feast he adds*; Posset videri, non hoc ex ordine subjunxisse, sed quod alio tempore factum est, recordatus interposuisse, nisi Marcus et Lucas, qui hoc omnino similiter narrant, manifestarent in domo Levi discubuisse Jesum. &c. de Consens. Evang. l. 2. c. 26, 27.

sent

ſent him, I ſhall ſet it down in his own words. "A conſi-
"derable time after what is related in the foregoing para-
"graph, namely, when Jeſus was juſt come back from the
"country of the Gergeſenes (as was related chap. viii. 28.
"and ix. 1.), ſome others ſeem to have come to Jeſus about
"the ſame ſubject; whereupon he gave them the ſame rea-
"ſons, why it was not proper for his diſciples to faſt yet.
"*And*[a] *now it was, that while he ſpoke theſe things unto them,*
"*behold there came a certain ruler*, &c." In his annotations on the place, he tells us; "This ſeems the beſt, becauſe the
"moſt natural and eaſy, way to reconcile this, ταῦτα αὐτῦ λα-
"λοῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἰδοὺ ἄρχων, &c. of St. Matthew, with Mark v. 22.
"and Luke viii. 41." This opinion ſuppoſes the call of Levi, his feaſt, and the diſcourſe that followed it, to be in our preſent copies of St. Matthew out of its proper order of time; and alſo that our preſent copies are exactly in this place, as St. Matthew wrote at firſt, viz. that after the diſcourſe with John's diſciples, St. Matthew immediately wrote, ταῦτα αὐτῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς, *while he ſpake theſe things to them.* Now according to the Doctor, this αὐτοῖς, *them*, muſt not refer to thoſe to whom our Saviour was talking at Levi's feaſt, but to ſome others that he had diſcourſed with about half a year before. Is it credible that St. Matthew would write thus? Chriſt ſpake ſuch and ſuch things to John's diſciples; and while he was ſpeaking *to them*, i. e. according to the Doctor, while he ſpake to *ſome other perſons*. This is far from being *natural* and *eaſy*; it makes the Evangeliſt write not only inaccurately, but to a high degree abſurdly[b]. But this is no new thing with Dr. Wells.

2. The other inſtance which ſeems to be out of its due order of time, and yet to have a note of immediate ſucceſſion prefixed to it, is *that of the diſciples plucking the ears of corn on the Sabbath-day*, chap. xii. 1, &c. As it lies in our pre-

[a] Matt. ix. 18.

[b] Le Clerc, in his Paraphraſe upon the Harmony of the Goſpels, is the only perſon that I know of (beſides the Doctor), who has taken this method of reconciling the Evangeliſts; and I cannot but think, when the Doctor comes to conſider this matter again, he will not be aſhamed to own, that he borrowed his opinion from Le Clerc.

ſent copies, it follows the meſſage of John the Baptiſt out of priſon to Chriſt, with this notation of ſucceſſion, Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, *At that time, Jeſus went out on the Sabbath-day through the corn*, &c. whereas, ſays Mr. Whiſton, this plucking of the ears of corn, was ſome months before the meſſage of John the Baptiſt. For the proof of this, Mr. Whiſton thinks it enough here, as well as in moſt of the other inſtances, to refer us to his Harmony; *As*, ſays he, *will be evident in the Harmony*. He attempts no other proof than this; and this really amounts to no more than if he had ſaid, *I have placed it ſo in my Harmony, and therefore St. Matthew wrote ſo*. It is true St. Mark and St. Luke have placed this matter a great deal ſooner in their hiſtory, viz. before the ſermon on the Mount; but then it does not appear, that they deſigned to connect it to the preceding hiſtory by any expreſs notation of the time. But though we take this for granted, and ſuppoſe that in our preſent copies of St. Matthew, this ſtory of *the diſciples plucking the ears of corn on the Sabbath-day*, is not in its proper order of time; yet it does not appear to be miſplaced ſince it was firſt wrote, becauſe it is not connected to the preceding part of the hiſtory by a phraſe, that neceſſarily implies immediate ſucceſſion in point of time. The phraſe here made uſe of by St. Matthew is, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, *at that time*, or *about that time*; which phraſe is undoubtedly made uſe of in Scripture chronology in a very large ſenſe. So in the inſtance above-mentioned [a] out of the Old Teſtament, viz. that of Judah's going down to his brethren, Gen. xxxviii. 1. the ſtory is introduced with the very ſame phraſe, בעת ההוא *At that time*; whereas that hiſtory, to which it is prefixed, happened a conſiderable time before that, which it immediately ſucceeds. This phraſe therefore is not, as Mr. Whiſton calls it, *a notation of ſucceſſion*, and conſequently does not prove a diſlocation in this part of the Goſpel hiſtory. Mr. Whiſton does indeed in another book (viz. his Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies, p. 71.) make uſe of this ſame note for the ſame end, viz. to prove the tranſpoſition of the ſixth and ſeventh verſes of the

[a] P. 45.

tenth

tenth chapter of Deuteronomy. But I need take no more pains to ſhew, that this phraſe does not imply immediate ſucceſſion; Mr. Whiſton himſelf, in his Chronology of the Old Teſtament, p. 73, in direct contradiction to himſelf in theſe two places, has very well proved it, by the ſame inſtance which I juſt now mentioned out of Gen. xxxviii. 1. His words are; "But then we muſt remember, that although the "words, *at that time*, ſeem to refer us to the foregoing hiſ-"tory of Joſeph, yet the expreſſion is of a much larger ex-"tent in the language of Scripture, and includes a great ſpace "of time, as will appear by a view of the inſtances in the "margin [a], of that and the like ways of ſpeaking, both in the "Old and New Teſtament. Nay indeed, it ſeems to be little "more than a particle of tranſition, or common way of intro-"ducing and beginning a new branch of an hiſtory; juſt like "the Engliſh particle, *Now*, as it is uſed at this day; which "though at firſt it might infer a connection, in point of time, "with what went before, yet now it is plain it is frequently "no more than a particle of tranſition, to introduce a new "period, after we have made a full end of that which went "before." It is well obſerved by Mr. Whiſton here, that this phraſe is often uſed thus in Scripture. Dr. Wells has obſerved [b], that this phraſe is uſed *three times* in St. Matthew, in this lax ſenſe. "The Greek expreſſion aforemen-"tioned (viz. Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεινῳ) is not to be underſtood in a "ſtrict ſenſe, or ſo as to denote, that the particulars which "they uſher in, were done or fell out in that point of time, "which followed next in order to the time wherein came to "paſs the particulars next afore related by St. Matthew; but "the ſaid Greek phraſe is to be underſtood in a large ſenſe, ſo "as to denote a conſiderable interval or ſpace of time, in, or "during, which the ſeveral particulars, which are uſhered in "by the ſaid Greek phraſe, did come to paſs, &c." Thus rightly has the Doctor explained this phraſe. The obſerva-

[a] Deut. x. 8. 2 Kings xx. 1. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24. Iſai. xxxviii. 1. Matt. iii. 1.

[b] See his Paraphraſe on Matt. ii. 25.

tion is indeed very trite and common; Uſher, Spanheim, Dr. Lightfoot, Chemnitius, and many others, have made the ſame remark. I rather choſe to cite the Doctor's words on this head, becauſe he ſeems in them to have had a direct deſign to confute Mr. Whiſton's hypotheſis; for he adds, "Hereby are "eaſily ſolved all objections urged againſt St. Matthew's "Goſpel, as being faulty as to wrong dating of ſeveral par-"ticulars of our Saviour's hiſtory, without having recourſe "to ſuch notions, as that St. Matthew writ on looſe papers, "which have not been put together in their due order." I was the more willing to mention this, becauſe I know not that any one beſides has taken the leaſt publick notice of this propoſition of Mr. Whiſton's, which ſeems ſo injurious to the honour of this part of the ſacred volume.

CHAP. XIV.

Mr. Whiſton's Method of accounting for the Diſorder he ſuppoſes in this Part of St. Matthew's Goſpel, viz. *that St. Matthew wrote it on ſmall Pieces of Paper; that theſe were confuſedly put together by thoſe, who did not perfectly underſtand the true Series of the Hiſtory. Mr. Toinard of the ſame Opinion. The Improbability of it, propoſed to be ſhewn from the antient Way of writing. The moſt antient Methods conſidered.*

HAVING conſidered thus far Mr. Whiſton's proof, that the ſeveral periods of the hiſtory in this part of St. Matthew's Goſpel are miſplaced, I proceed now to conſider the following ſection. [a] The deſign of the ſection is, to *obſerve what might be the probable occaſions of the preſent miſtaken places of theſe ſeveral branches.* Now in order to this, Mr.

[a] P. 108.

Whiſton

Whiſton is forced to a very odd and ſtrange ſuppoſition, ſuch as I am very much inclined to believe he never would have eſpouſed, had he ſufficiently weighed, and been aware of, its conſequences. "I muſt," ſays he, "here take it for granted, "that the ſeveral parts or periods of this former part of St. "Matthew's Goſpel, were written at firſt ſeparately, and upon "ſeveral diſtinct papers; which papers (or whatever they were "written upon) were put together into their preſent order by "thoſe, who did not perfectly know the true ſeries of the "hiſtory."

I have more largely obſerved in the Preface, that Spinoza and Father Simon have taken this method to depreciate and vilify the ſacred volume, ſuppoſing that ſeveral parts of it were confuſedly put together, by thoſe who did not know the right and true order of the hiſtory. It is indeed a very eaſy way of accounting for many of the difficulties of Chronology in the Old Teſtament, as well as in the Goſpels, if the matter of fact could be made certain. If there are indeed ſeveral parts of the hiſtory tranſpoſed and miſplaced, I cannot conceive any other way ſo probable, by which the ſuppoſed diſorders can be accounted for, as this; I muſt therefore do Mr. Whiſton that juſtice to own, to his honour, that he has hit upon the only poſſible method of accounting for the diſlocations he ſuppoſes to have happened to this part of St. Matthew's Goſpel. In the next ſection he tells us indeed[a], "that he once de-"ſigned to have attempted to offer ſome conjectures, how "ſo many of theſe ſections came to be ſo ſtrangely tranſ-"poſed;" but this, I confeſs, is what I am not able to underſtand. He ſays here, "that he ſuppoſes the ſeveral diſordered "parts or periods were wrote at firſt ſeparately, and upon "diſtinct pieces of paper, and placed in this wrong order by "thoſe, who did not know the true ſeries of the hiſtory;" and then adds, "that he will obſerve, what were the probable "occaſions of their preſent miſtaken places." And is not this offering conjectures, how they came to be tranſpoſed? I aſk Mr. Whiſton's pardon, if it appear that I am miſtaken in

[a] Pag. 110.

ſaying,

ſaying, that he had before offered all the conjecture, that either he, or any man could offer. Mr. Toinard[a], a French gentleman (who was reputed in his country one of the greateſt ſcholars of the age), compoſed a *Harmony of the Goſpels in Greek*, which was publiſhed about a year after his death, (A. D. 1707.) in which he ſeems to be of the very ſame opinion with Mr. Whiſton in this matter. I have not been able to procure the book itſelf; and ſo could not compare his and Mr. Whiſton's Harmony together. A general account of his opinion I learnt from the abſtract of his book, which Mr. Le Clerc hath given us in his *Bibliothéque Choiſie*[b], and from a ſhort paragraph out of his Prolegomena, which Mr. Whiſton did me the honour to ſend me. His words are to this purpoſe[c]; "St. Matthew's text was the only one of the four "Evangeliſts, which I could not always place in my Har- "mony in that ſame order, in which it is in our common co- "pies; becauſe from the twenty-ſecond verſe of the fourth "chapter, to the thirteenth verſe of the fourteenth chapter, he "differs very much from the order of the other Evangeliſts. "This indeed ſeems very ſtrange, when we conſider, that the "Evangeliſt St. Mark, who ſeems to be a ſort of an epi- "tomizer of him, does exactly agree with St. Luke and St. "John, in relating all thoſe particulars, which are now ſo "much tranſpoſed in St. Matthew. This ſeems very hard to

[a] See his character in the ſupplement to the laſt edition of Mr. Moreri's French Dictionary.

[b] Toutes les Evangeliſtes ſont dans l'ordre, auquel ils ont écrit, excepté St. Matthieu, depuis le chap. iv. 22. juſqu'au chap. xiv. 13. parce qu'en cela cet Evangeliſte s'eſt éloigné de l'ordre des autres. Mr. Toinard ne ſait, d'où ce déſordre peut être arrivé, à moins que depuis le commencement, les papiers de l'Evangeliſte n'aient été tranſpoſés par quelque accident. Biblioth. Choiſie, tom. 15. Art. 5. p. 251.

[c] Matthæi ſolius ex quatuor Evangeliis textum, eodem quo in vulgatis legitur ordine, a principio ad finem exhibere non licuit, propterea quod ab aliorum Evangeliſtarum ordine, a capitis quarti Evangelii ſui verſu vicesimo ſecundo, ad ejuſdem Evangelii capitis decimi quarti verſum decimum tertium, plurimum diſcedit. Quod ſane mirari ſubit; cum Evangeliſta Marcus, ejus veluti epitomator, cum Luca et Joanne æquo pede in iis omnibus narrandis decurrat, quæ apud Matthæum varie tranſpoſita leguntur. Quod unde evenerit, niſi ex perturbatione aliqua eaque antiquiſſima Schedarum Evangeliſtæ hujus, difficile eſt perſpicere. Proleg. p. 5.

"be

" be accounted for, unleſs we ſuppoſe it done by ſome very " antient confuſion, or diſorder, of the ſheets (or papers) on " which this Goſpel was wrote."

This is the hypotheſis of theſe two learned men: it is ſtrange a propoſition, which ſeems ſo much to need proof, ſhould by them be taken for granted. This is ſuch a poſtulatum, as one very ſeldom meets with; and it will be ſo far from being granted to Mr. Whiſton to be a truth, that needs not to be proved, (viz. that St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel on looſe ſcraps of paper) that it will appear to every impartial examiner to be a moſt unreaſonable ſuppoſition. For the manifeſting of this, I ſhall offer the beſt proof I can; and if it ſhould be thought by any, that I have been at more pains in confuting this hypotheſis, than was neceſſary; I deſire it may be conſidered, that my arguing tends not only to overthrow this propoſition, about St. Matthew's Goſpel being diſordered, but may be made uſe of (at leaſt a good part of it) againſt Spinoza, Father Simon, and Mr. Whiſton's opinion of ſeveral books of the Old Teſtament, which has been mentioned in the Preface.

The method I deſign to proceed in ſhall be; firſt, to ſhew, *what the manner of writing among the antients was*, and particularly, *after what manner the Jews wrote in our Saviour's time*; and from thence ſhew, how highly abſurd it is to imagine, that St. Matthew wrote after that manner, which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes.

The accounts we have from antiquity of their manner of writing, are very defective and imperfect; and it is with no ſmall difficulty and pains, that we are able to ſay any thing clear on this head. The firſt and moſt antient account that we have of any writing, is that which Joſephus tells us of the ſons of Seth, before the flood; viz. that they " having made " ſome obſervations about the heavenly bodies, that they might " not be loſt, made two pillars, the one of brick, the other of " ſtone, on both of which they wrote the diſcoveries they had " made; &c.[a]" It was after this manner the Decalogue was wrote,

[a] Σοφ'αι τε τὴν περὶ τὰ ὐράνια, καὶ τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν ἐπενόησαν· ὑπερ

wrote, viz. *on tables of ſtone*[a]. In ſucceeding ages they were wont to write, in ſeveral countries, upon leaves of ſome certain trees, which they found moſt convenient to their purpoſe. Pliny tells us, theſe were made uſe of for writing *before the invention of paper, and particularly the leaves of palm-trees*[b]; *and that afterwards they wrote upon the inner bark of ſome trees.* What theſe trees were, we are informed by that learned antiquary Alexander ab Alexandro[c]. *Afterwards, they wrote their publick records in volumes or rolls of lead, and their private matters on fine linen and wax*, as the ſame authors tell us[d]; hence Suidas alſo tells us of writing upon plates or leaves of lead[e]. And this (if I may be allowed to gueſs) ſeems to be a method of writing, which was in uſe in the time of Job, as is intimated in theſe words, ch. xix. 23, 24. *Oh that my words were now written; oh that they were printed in a book; that they were graven with an iron pen and* lead, *in the rock for ever.* Hence we read in Suetonius, that Nero made uſe of a *plumbea charta, a plate of lead*, called *charta*, not only becauſe it was like it in form, but becauſe they uſed to write not only on paper, but on plates of lead[f].

Afterwards, viz. about the time when Alexander the Great was in Egypt, the *uſe of paper* was firſt found out; I do not mean ſuch ſort of paper as we now uſe, but the inner coat or ſkin of the great Ægyptian ruſh, which they called *papyrus*, from whence comes our preſent Engliſh word *paper*. The coats or thin ſkins of this ruſh, when duly dried and prepared

ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τὰς ἀνθρώπους τὰ εἰρημένα—ψήλας δύο ποιησάμενοι, τὴν μὲν ἐκ πολίου θυ, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἐκ λίθων, ἀμφοτέραις ἐνέγραψαν τὰ ῥηθέντα, &c. Antiq. Jud. l. 1. c. 2. §. 3.

[a] Exod. xxxi. 18. and xxxii. 16.

[b] Antea non fuiſſe chartarum uſum; palmarum foliis primo ſcriptitatum, deinde quarundam arborum libris. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 13. c. 11.

[c] Hæ fuere a principio ex cortice platani, fraxini, aceris, populi albæ, item fagi et ulni; aut, ſicut Ulpianus cenſuit, ex tilia, philyra, et papyro. Liber enim interior pars eſt corticis, quæ ligno cohæret. Alex. ab Alexand. Gen. Dier. l. 2. c. 30.

[d] Pliny, and Alexand. ab Alexand. ibid.

[e] Εἰς ἐλασμὰς μολίβδου γράφοντες. Suid. ad voc. μόλυβδος.

[f] In Ner. c. 20. Quid autem ſimilius, quam plumbi lamina et chartæ expanſæ pagina? quin etiam in plumbi laminis interdum ita ſcribebant, ut in chartæ paginis. Caſaub. ad loc. Vid. Tacit. Annal. l. 2. c. 69.

for

for uſe, they called *chartæ*. A larger account of the nature of this material for writing, the reader may ſee in the place of Pliny laſt referred to[a], and concerning the time of its invention, Polydore Vergil[b]. Now if indeed any of thoſe foremention-ed had been the method of writing in uſe among the Jews, when St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel, there had then been a much better foundation for the conjecture of Mr. Whiſton and Mr. Toinard, than there really is. Had it been then the cuſtom to write upon the leaves of palm-trees, or the little ſkin or inner bark of any other trees, the leaves of their books muſt have been very ſmall, and conſequently muſt conſiſt of a great number of ſeparate pieces and ſcraps; and ſo perhaps, by reaſon of the difficulty of faſtening them together, would be more liable to confuſion and miſplacing. But it is very certain none of theſe methods were then in uſe amongſt the Jews. If ever they were in uſe among them, they had now for a long time been diſuſed, and another more expedient, and far more commodious invented, as will appear in the following chapter.

[a] Priuſquam digrediamur ab Ægypto, et papyri natura dicetur, cum chartæ uſu maxime humanitas vitæ conſtet et memoria. Et hanc Alexandri magni victoria repertam auctor eſt M. Varro, condita in Ægypto Alexandria, &c. Plin. ubi ſup.

[b] De inventor. Rerum, l. 2. c. 8.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

That St. Matthew did not write his Goſpel on ſmall Pieces of Paper, proved by a large Diſſertation on the Manner, in which the Antients wrote their Books. The ordinary Method was to write on large Skins, which were faſtened together, and rolled up. This the Practice of the Jews long before, and in our Saviour's Time. The Words opened *and* cloſed the Book, Luke iv. 17, 20. *diſcuſſed. The Words,* Bring the Parchments, 2 Tim. iv. 13. *conſidered. It does not appear that the Jews made uſe of Paper, or any other Material beſides that mentioned, to write their Books upon.*

HAVING, in the foregoing Chapter, premiſed ſome ſhort account of the various methods of writing in uſe among the antients, I come now to conſider, that which was of all the moſt common, viz. *the writing on large ſkins of parchment, which they rolled up.* This was the way, in which the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, wrote their books, both before, and in our Saviour's time; and therefore it is very probable, this was the way St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel, and not on ſmall ſcraps or ſcrolls of paper. For the manifeſting of this matter, I will endeavour to ſhew,

1. That the antients did very much make uſe of *parchment, or large ſkins, to write upon.*

2. That when they had wrote on theſe, *they were wont to faſten them together, and roll them up.*

3. That the Jews *long before our Saviour's time* did write their books *after this manner.*

4. That the Jews uſually wrote thus *about the time, when St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel.*

Theſe things fully ſhewn, will make the ſuppoſition of St. Matthew's writing his book upon ſmall pieces, or ſcraps of paper (ſome of which would not contain above a line or two), very abſurd and unreaſonable.

1. *The antients did very much uſe parchment, or large ſkins,*

to

to write upon. This is a matter of fact ſo very well known, that there needs not be much ſaid to prove it. Herodotus, who lived above four hundred years before our Saviour's time, mentions it as a very antient cuſtom among the Ionians; "The "Ionians," ſays he "have for a long time called their books, "ſkins, becauſe in the ſcarcity of (Egyptian) paper, they "made uſe of goat-ſkins, and ſheep-ſkins; nay, and even in "our time, many foreign nations write upon ſuch ſkins[a]." Suidas cites out of ſome antient author an account, probably older than the time of Herodotus, in theſe words[b]; "Hermion, "writing down their determinations upon ſkins, ſent them to "the enemy." Pliny indeed, out of Varro, gives us an account of the original of this ſort of writing on parchment a long time afterwards, viz. in the time of Eumenes; which I think was near three hundred years before our Saviour's time. The account is this[c]; that there being an emulation or ſtriſe between Eumenes and Ptolemy concerning their libraries (viz. whoſe ſhould be the largeſt), the latter being the King of Egypt, forbad the exportation of the Egyptian paper; whereupon Eumenes, King of Pergamus, firſt invented the uſe of parchment, and ſo from Pergamus that material for writing was called Pergamena. The ſame account, a little more full, is given us by Alexander ab Alexandro, in the place before cited[d]. I ſhall not now diſpute concerning the time and antiquity of this invention: if it was even ſo late as Varro's account, it is ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe; for as ſoon as

[a] Καὶ τὰς βίβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνει βίβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρῃσι αἰγείῃσί τε καὶ οἰέῃσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι. l. 5. c. 58. I tranſlate ἐν σπάνει βίβλων, *in the ſcarcity of Egyptian paper*; becauſe the word commonly ſignifies ſo, and nothing elſe can be meant. So the Latin tranſlator paraphraſes it: Βίβλων, i. e. Scirporum; per Biblum videtur potius intelligenda papyrus Ægypti; though this overthrows Varro's account, that this material for writing was found out, when Alexander was in Egypt.

[b] Εἰς διφθέρας γὰρ τὰς διαιτὰς αὐτῶν γράψας ὁ Ἑρμίων ἔπεμπε τοῖς πολεμίοις. Suid. ad Διφθέρα.

[c] Mox æmulatione circa bibliothecas regum Ptolemæi et Eumenis, ſuppriment chartas Ptolemæo, idem Varro membranas Pergami tradidit repertas. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 13. c. 11.

[d] Genial. Dier. l. 2. c. 30.

it

it was found out, the uſe of it became very common[a]; although I rather incline to think, Varro's ſtory not to be true, as to the time, as Polydore Vergil has well obſerved[b]; and Dr. Edwards[c], and after him Dr. Prideaux[d] have more largely proved.

2. When they had wrote upon theſe ſkins of parchment, *they were wont to faſten them together, and roll them up.* They did not cut the parchment into ſmall pieces, as we now do our books; but all the book was wrote on one long continued page, conſiſting of ſeveral ſkins faſtened together. To the end of the ſkins was faſtened a large ſtaff or ſtick, round about which they rolled up the ſkins: this, when ſo rolled up, they called *Volumen, a volvendo*, i. e. a *volume* or *roll*, and the ſtaff about which it was rolled, they called *Umbilicus*. And hence we ſo frequently in the Roman authors meet with *Membranæ*, for the material on which they wrote, *Volumen*, for the book itſelf when wrote, and *ad Umbilicum ducere*, to come to the end of the book[e]. So Martial, in the laſt epigram of his fourth book, ſpeaking to his book, ſays,

Obe jam ſatis eſt, obe Libelle,
Jam pervenimus uſque ad Umbilicos.

And, in another place[f], ſays of his book,

Pictis luxurieris Umbilicis.

So alſo when he is ſpeaking to a plagiary, that had ſtole his poems, he tells him[g], he ſhould have rather made choice of a more obſcure book;

Nec Umbilicis cultus atque Membrana[h].

I will

[a] Poſtea promiſcue patuit uſus rei, qua conſtat hominum immortalitas. Plin. ibid.

[b] Verum ego affirmarem membranas, multo ante quam tradit Varro, eſſe repertas. De Inventoribus Rer. l. 2. c. 8.

[c] Of the Authority and Style of the Holy Scriptures, vol. 2. c. 3.

[d] Connect. of the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, vol. 1. b. 7.

[e] Veteres enim non ſolum Hebræi, ſed et Ethnici, ſcribere ſolebant in membranis aut chartis, quæ in rotundum complicabantur—Apud Ethnicos voluminum fuiſſe uſum ſatis indicat proverbium illud, *Ad Umbilicum ducere*. Erat enim Umbilicus lignum, circa quod chartæ deſcriptæ convolvebantur. Janſen. ad Pſal. xxxix. 11.

[f] Lib. 3. Epig. 2.

[g] Lib. 1. Epig. 67.

[h] *Nec Umbilicis cultus*, i. e. cujus Umbilicus, is eſt bacillus cedrinus, buxeus, cupreſſinus, &c. extremæ paginæ, abſoluto jam opere, aſſutus;

I will not be at the pains to collect any more inſtances, for the proof of this matter. It is ſufficiently known to thoſe, who are verſed at all in antiquity, and will more fully appear, when we conſider,

3. *That the Jews, long before our Saviour's time, did write their books after this manner.* There cannot be the leaſt doubt, but the Jews, as well as other nations, did make uſe of the ſkins of ſeveral animals to write upon, long before that period we mentioned; for Ariſtæas, in his Hiſtory of the Tranſlation of the Bible by the Seventy, tells us [a], that Ptolemy ſent meſſengers to Eleazar the high-prieſt for the Jewiſh Law, *becauſe they had it wrote in ſkins, or parchment, in Hebrew letters.* Joſephus alſo, who relates the ſame hiſtory, tells us, that when the ſeventy-two elders were come down to Egypt, they came with preſents to the King, and the parchments, in which they had the Law, wrote in letters of gold; that when they were unfolding the books, and ſhewing them to the King, he was ſurprized at the fineneſs or thinneſs of the parchment, and that they were ſo ſewed or faſtened together, that it was impoſſible to perceive the ſeams, or the place where one ſkin was faſtened to another [b]. Whether the hiſtory of Ariſtæas, and this chapter of Joſephus, be true or not, I need not enquire; the world has been ſufficiently troubled with that diſpute already. There have been ſome, who have even made the place of Joſephus now cited, an argument againſt this hiſtory. Rivet, for inſtance [c], would perſuade us, that the Jews never would write their Law in golden letters: and the very learned Chamier [d] calls the ſtory of Ptolemy's ad-

aſſutus; vel umbilici extremitates, quæ, complicatis in volumen membranis, utrinque apparent, cornua appellantur, ebore, argento, vel auro ornantur. Farnab. ad loc. See alſo l. 5. Epig. 6.

[a] Διὰ τὸ γεγράφθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν διφθέραις, Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν. In init.

[b] Τῶν διφθερῶν, αἷς ἐγγεγραμμένους εἶχον τοὺς νόμους χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν—ὡς δ' ἀποκαλύψαντες τῶν ἐρυλημάτων ἐπέδειξαν αὐτῷ, θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἰσχυότητος τὴν ἰμένας (I think it would be better to read τῇ ἰμένος), καὶ τῆς συμβολῆς τὸ ἀνεπίγνωστον, ὅτω γὰρ ἥρμοστο, &c. Antiq. Jud. lib. 12. c. 2. §. 10.

[c] Iſagog. ad Script. Sacr. c. 10. For this his opinion, he depends only upon a fable of the Rabbins, that the Law was to be wrote only with ink of ſuch a ſort.

[d] Panſtrat. Cathol. vol. 1. l. 13. c. 4. §. 11.

miring the fineneſs of the parchment, a λεπτολογία or μικροφιλοτιμία; he means that it is an idle ſtory, which deſerves no credit. But, as I ſaid, I need not diſpute the truth of the ſtory; I take it for granted that Ariſtæas, or whoever he was that was the author of that hiſtory under his name, lived before our Saviour's time. Dr. Hody [a] himſelf owns it, and has endeavoured to prove it; and if ſo, let the hiſtory be ſuppoſed never ſo falſe, yet it cannot be ſuppoſed a perſon would write of a cuſtom, which never had been. The ſame may be ſaid alſo of the paſſage cited out of Joſephus; viz. that he believed this was the method of writing among the Jews, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, almoſt three hundred years before our Saviour's time. It is worth our obſerving, that the moſt antient Jews, as well as Joſephus, were of this opinion, that the old way of writing the Law was upon parchment; hence the Chaldee Paraphraſt, ſuppoſed by the Jews to be Jonathan (who wrote the Targum on the Prophets, and lived in or before our Saviour's time), ſays in his tranſlation of theſe words, Deut. xxxi. 24. that Moſes wrote the Law על קפרא *upon parchment*. Whether this be ſo or not, is very uncertain. Dr. Prideaux [b], it ſeems, is of the ſame opinion; "It muſt," ſays he, "be acknowledged, that the authentick copy of the Law, "which Hilkiah found in the Temple, and ſent to King Jo-"ſiah, was of this material, none other uſed for writing being "of ſo durable a nature, as to laſt from Moſes's time till then, "which was eight hundred and thirty years." However the matter of fact be, I will not now enquire; only obſerve, by the by, the inſufficiency of the Dean's argument; for

1. It is far from being evident, that the book, which Hilkiah found, was that which was wrote by Moſes. We are told expreſsly, that when Solomon, at the dedication of the Temple, brought up the ark, there was nothing found in it, *but the two tables of ſtone*, which Moſes had put there, 1 Kings viii. 9.

2. Suppoſe it was the book wrote by Moſes, it does not fol-

[a] Contra Hiſtor. Ariſteæ de LXX. Interpret. cap. 20.

[b] Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old Teſt. Part 1. b. 7. in fin.

low

low that it was of parchment, becauſe it laſted ſo long; for the other materials of writing, made uſe of by the antients, were no leſs durable than this. A deep inciſion into braſs, lead, ſtone, or perhaps wax, was, if duly preſerved, likely to laſt as long as any ſort of ink on parchment. Moſes's tables of ſtone, we are aſſured, were in being at the dedication of the Temple, 1 Kings viii. 9. (which was the ſpace of almoſt five hundred years), and very probably continued to the deſtruction of it; and other monuments of antiquity have continued legible a much longer time.

But to return, it is evident from what has been ſaid, that the Jews before our Saviour's time did write upon parchment, or the ſkins of animals. I am now further to ſhew, that they made their books after the manner that has been deſcribed, viz. by rolling the ſkins upon a ſtaff, when they were faſtened together. Now inaſmuch as we have few (if any at all beſides the Canonical ones of the Old Teſtament) of the books of the Jews, that were wrote before our Saviour's time, it is impoſſible to give ſo clear an account of their way of writing, as of the Heathens, whoſe books we have. Beſides thoſe teſtimonies of Joſephus, Ariſtæas, and Jonathan, I know not any. Some intimations of this matter in the Old Teſtament indeed there are, which, if duly conſidered, will evidence to us the manner of their writing. For inſtance, it is apparent that the Jewiſh books were rolled up, from the name given them in the Old Teſtament: as the Romans made uſe of the word *volumen* (*a volvendo*, from its being rolled up), to denote a *book*; ſo the Jews made uſe of the words מגלה and גליון, which ſignify the very ſame as *volumen*, derived from גלל *to roll*. The laſt of theſe words we find, Iſai. viii. 1. God commands the Prophet to take גליון גדול, *a large roll*, and write therein, &c. The former we meet with ſeveral times in the Prophets[a], ſometimes joined with the word ספר, *a book*, and ſometimes not. It occurs once in the Pſalms, viz. xl. 7. *as it is written concerning me in the volume of thy book*, כתוב עלי במגלת ספר, i. e. *in convolutione libri*, or according to a very com-

[a] Jer. xxxvi. 2. 14. 20, &c. Ezek. ii. 9. and iii. 1, 2, 3. Zech. v. 1, 2.

mon and known Hebraiſm, *in libro convoluto*, i. e. *in the book that is rolled up*, as the book of the Law then was. This interpretation is plain, and I need not be at the pains to cite the criticks and commentators, to ſupport it; I think they almoſt all agree, that this word was made uſe of to ſignify a book[a], becauſe their books were rolled up, and ſo we have traced this cuſtom as far as David's time. I muſt not omit obſerving here, that the Seventy ſeem to have underſtood this place otherwiſe, when they tranſlate it, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου, and that the old Latin tranſlator after them renders it, *in Capite libri*; which has made ſome Popiſh commentators believe, that we are to underſtand, *the ſum of the book*. But it does not much concern us, how the Seventy have rendered it, nor indeed ſhould I have mentioned it, if St. Paul had not ſeemed to juſtify their tranſlation, by making uſe of their words, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου, &c. Heb. x. 7. I ſaid, *ſeemed to juſtify*; for though St. Paul, and other writers of the New Teſtament, did undoubtedly make uſe of the Septuagint, or ſome Greek tranſlation, in citing out of the Old Teſtament; yet their uſing it, does not always juſtify it, as though it were a juſt tranſlation of the original. It is certain the writers of the New Teſtament made uſe of the Greek verſion ſometimes, where the tranſlators plainly miſtook the words they tranſlated; and the reaſon why they thus followed them in their miſtakes, was, becauſe they wrote to, and for thoſe, who made uſe of theſe Bibles; and it might probably have been of very bad conſequence, had they gone about to correct or alter them[b]. But perhaps after all, מגלת ספר may be juſtly tranſlated by the Seventy, κεφαλὶς βιβλίου, and κεφαλὶς may ſignify the very ſame thing as *volume*. So our learned countryman, Mr. Fuller, has by an ingenious criticiſm endeavoured to prove[c]. I would only obſerve further here, that Aquila and Symmachus tranſlate this word in its juſt ſenſe, *a roll*, and ſo Theodoret under-

[a] Vid. Janſen. Genebrard. &c. ad loc. Sixt. Senenſ. Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2. ad voc. Volumen. Caſtell. Buxtorf. et Schindler ad גלל See Iſai. xxxiv. 4.

[b] See concerning this matter Rivet. Iſagog. in S. Script. c. 10. and Flacc. Illyric. Par. 2. Tract. 2. de Evangeliſt.

[c] Miſcell. Sacr. l. 2. c. 10.

ſtood

ſtood it [a], and the Seventy themſelves have very frequently tranſlated this word χαρτίον [b]. I ſhall take it then for granted, that the word מגלה proves, that the Jews before our Saviour's time were wont to roll up their books. I add,

4. That the Jews uſually wrote thus *about the time, when St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel.* That it was thus in our Saviour's time, ſeems to be very evident from thoſe words, Luke iv. 17. *And when he had opened the book*, &c. and ver. 20. *And he cloſed the book*, &c. The two Greek words, ἀναπτύξας and πτύξας, tranſlated *opened* and *cloſed*, do evidently intimate to us, what ſort of a book it was in which our Saviour read. They ſignify to *unfold*, and to *fold up again*, or (if I may uſe the word) to *unroll* and to *roll up again*, as every body knows who has met with theſe words in the Greek authors; and ſo here ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον meaneth his taking the parchment off the roll, and drawing it out in length to read it, and πτύξας τὸ βιβλίον means his rolling it up again round the ſtaff. "The word ἀναπτύσσω," ſays a learned critick [a], "refers to the manner of writing among the Jews, which was "not in parchment or paper ſewed together, as we now uſe; "but in one continued page or long roll, and that folded up, "to ſave it from duſt or other harm." In this ſenſe alſo the word is uſed by the LXX. 2 Kings xix. 14. Hezekiah received the letter, or *little books*, τὰ βιβλία (as the LXX tranſlate the word הספרים), καὶ ἀνεπτύξεν αὐτὰ, *and ſpread them*, or *laid them open*. Hence it was well obſerved by Grotius, that theſe two words anſwer to the Latin ones *evolvere* and *convolvere*, i. e. *to fold* and *unfold* [d]; and I would obſerve, that the Greek

[a] Τὴν κεφαλίδα εἴλημα εἰρήκασιν Ἀκύλας καὶ ὁ Σύμμαχος· ὕτω δὲ τὰς θείας γραφὰς μέχρι καὶ τήμερον Ἰουδαῖοι κατασκινάζειν εἰώθασι. Theodoret. ad Pſal. xl. 8. Idem, in Ezek. iii. κεφαλίδα καλεῖ τὰ εἰλητὰ βιβλία. Apud Suicer. in Theſaur. ad κεφαλίς. Vid. et Var. Lect. et Schol. in LXX. Hence Suidas alſo, at the word Κεφαλίς· Τὴν κεφαλίδα, ὅπερ τινὲς εἴλημά φασιν.

[b] Jer. xxxvi.

[c] Dr. Hammond on Luke iv. 17.

[d] Ἀναπτύσσειν βιβλίον eſt *evolvere*, πτύσσειν *convolvere*. Jam Hebræorum, ut et Latinorum, libri erant volumina; hinc *evolvere librum* apud Ciceronem, atque alios: idem eſt *revolvere* Livio et Martiali, qua voce et hic uſus eſt recte Latinus interpres. Grot. ad loc. See Beza, Chemnit. Cornel. ad Lapid. Le Clerc, Whitby, &c. ad loc.

word πτύσσω was ſo very commonly uſed for this ſort of *folding* and *rolling up* their books; that, as the Jews called their books מגלת, from their being thus rolled up, and the Romans called theirs *volumina* for the ſame reaſon; ſo, upon the very ſame account, the Greeks formed the words πτῦγμα and πτυκτίον, πυκτὶς and πυκτίον, to denote a book, or a writing on parchment, that was thus folded or rolled up [a]: hence θεῖα πυκτὶς is often uſed by the Greek Fathers for the ſacred Scripture [b]. From all which I think it is very fair to conclude, that the book which our Saviour read in the ſynagogue at Nazareth, was of that ſort which has been deſcribed, viz. a *volume of parchment.*

The matter I am upon, may receive ſome confirmation from St. Paul's charge to Timothy [c]; *The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comeſt, bring with thee, and the books, but eſpecially the parchments.* I will not now enquire whether the word φαιλόνην, which we have tranſlated a *cloak*, ſignifies a parchment roll or not. According to Phavorinus it does [d]; and I can ſee no reaſon why our tranſlators ſhould render it a *cloak*, but becauſe Beza (whom they continually followed, and often even in his miſtakes) had done ſo before them. Whether this ſignifies a parchment roll or no, there can be little reaſon to doubt but μεμβράνας does. Dr. Edwards has ſomewhere told us, that he ſuppoſes the parchments here mean the ſkins, which the Apoſtle made uſe of in his trade of tent-making; but there is not the leaſt foundation for this fancy. It would ſeem indeed at firſt, that the parchments and books, which St. Paul deſires him to bring, were diſtinct things; but there is no need at all of ſuppoſing ſo. The Apoſtle ſeems here to make uſe of a form of ſpeech, very common in the Scriptures and all language; viz. repeating the ſame thing in different words; *Bring the little cheſt* (or

[a] Πυκτίον, τὸ βιβλίον, Suid. ad voc.

[b] Sacra Scriptura hac voce (ſcil. Πυκτὶς) ſæpe deſignatur. Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. ad voc.

[c] 2 Tim. iv. 13.

[d] Vid. Heinſ. Exerc. Sacr. ad loc. and Dr. Hammond, who alſo takes it in this ſenſe. Jerome alſo tells us, that ſome in his time underſtood by φαιλόνην, Volumen Hebraicum. Ad Damaſ. Quæſt. 2.

ſatchel,

ſatchel, for ſo I take the word φαιλόνην), *which I left at Troas and the books; but eſpecially the parchments*, i. e. *the books.* The old Syriack interpreter tranſlates the word φαιλόνην, which we tranſlate a *cloak*, בית כתבא i. e. *a cheſt of books or writings*, and μεμβράνας, which we tranſlate *parchments*, he renders כרכא דמגלא i. e. *a bundle of parchment rolls.* The Syriack word here is the very ſame with the Hebrew one, of which we have ſpoke already; ſo that, whether St. Paul here meant *parchment rolls* or not, it is certain the Syriack interpreter, who lived about that time (as will be hereafter proved), thought he did; which is ſufficient to my preſent purpoſe.

Another place of the New Teſtament, from whence we may conclude that to have been the method of writing in uſe among the Jews, which has been deſcribed, viz. on parchment rolls, is that, Rev. vi. 14. *The heaven departed as a ſcroll, when it is rolled together*, &c. The original word, which we have tranſlated a *ſcroll*, is βιβλίον, a *book*; and ſo here is a manifeſt alluſion to the cuſtom of rolling up their books or parchments, on which they wrote at that time [a].

I ſhall not ſeek for any farther proofs of this matter, only would obſerve, that there is a paſſage in Polycarp's Epiſtle to the Philippians, which if it do not prove the point in hand, yet may itſelf be explained from what has been ſaid. In the cloſe of his Epiſtle, he tells the Philippians, that the Epiſtles of Ignatius ὑποτεταγμέναι εἰσὶ, were annexed or ſubjoined (*ſubjectæ ſunt* according to the old Latin Verſion) to his own Epiſtle. This ſeems capable of no other meaning, than *that at the end, or bottom of the roll, on which his Epiſtle was wrote, were faſtened together the ſkins, on which Ignatius's were wrote.*

And thus I have largely conſidered, what the method of writing was among the Jews before our Saviour's time, and about that time when St. Matthew wrote; and now, I think, I may juſtly draw my concluſion, that St. Matthew did not write his Goſpel on ſmall ſcraps or ſcrolls of paper. Why ſhould he write in a method ſo very different from all his cotemporaries? If every one elſe wrote on large ſkins of parch-

[a] There is the very ſame alluſion or compariſon, Iſai. xxxiv. 4.

ment, is it credible that he would write upon ſmall ſcraps of paper, or of any other material whatſoever? As for the Egyptian paper, it is a very great queſtion, whether it was ever in uſe among the Jews at all. I have not yet ſeen any reaſon to believe that it was; there is not, that I know of, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thing, either in the Old or New Teſtament, or Joſephus. But let us take it for granted, that the Jews, as well as other nations, did make uſe of this ſort of paper; it will not follow, that St. Matthew had any need to write his Goſpel on ſmall pieces or ſcraps of it. I am very apt to think, that the ſize of this paper was as large, as that which we now ordinarily make uſe of. We read ſeveral times in antient writers, of ſhips or boats made of this papyrus; *They make boats of papyrus, and ſails of its bark*, ſays Pliny [a]; and in another place, he mentions *naves papyraceas* [b], *ſhips made of papyrus:* Plutarch alſo talks of *παπύϱινα σκάφη, boats of papyrus* [c]. I cannot omit mentioning here the opinion of ſeveral learned men, that the ark or boat, into which Moſes was put on the river in Egypt, was made of this papyrus. So Grotius, *fiſcellam ſcirpeam*, i. e. *ex papyro*; and, to confirm his interpretation, he cites this verſe of Lucan, lib. 4. v. 136. [d]

Conſeritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyro.

This opinion ſeems to be confirmed from thoſe words of the prophet, Iſai. xviii. 1, 2. *Wo to the land ſhadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia; that ſendeth ambaſſadors by the ſea, even in veſſels of bulruſhes upon the waters.* Here we not only read of veſſels made of bulruſhes, in or near Egypt; but what is very obſervable, the ſame word is put here, to denote that of which theſe veſſels were made, ובכלי גמא, which is uſed to denote that of which Moſes's ark was made, תבת גמא, Exod. ii. 3. So then, if the Egyptian papyrus was thus large, though the Jews did uſe it, yet it is not at all

[a] Ex papyro navigia texunt, et e libro vela. Hiſt. Natur. l. 13. c. 11.

[b] L. 6. c. 22.

[c] In Lib. de Iſ. et Oſir. apud Doughteium in Analect. Sacr. Excurſ. 156. where other like inſtances are produced.

[d] Annot. ad Exod. ii. 3.

likely

likely St. Matthew would write upon ſmall ſcraps and ſcrolls; eſpecially if we conſider, how *very ſmall, and many* theſe ſcraps and ſcrolls were; which ſhall be the ſubject of the following chapter.

After all that has been ſaid in this chapter, I confeſs there might have been ſome other methods of writing in uſe among the Jews, in our Saviour's time. There is another way mentioned by St. Luke, chap. i. 63. *And he aſked for a writing-table, and wrote*, &c. What ſort of writing-table this was, and what the proper meaning of the word πινακίδιον here is, ſeems not very eaſy to be told. Tertullian [a], and after him ſeveral others [b], ſuppoſe it to be a *wax-table:* whether this opinion be true or not, I cannot determine. The Romans were wont to write their letters, and other ſmaller matters, on ſuch tables; perhaps Zacharias might write on ſuch a one, and perhaps it might be on a little thin ſtone table, ſuch as we now commonly uſe. Yet neither of theſe was the material, of which their books were compoſed; and I remember, Tully mentions *the transferring the contents of theſe ſort of tables into books* [c]. Their books and their tables were therefore different. Beſides this, I do not find there is in the ſacred writings, or any where elſe, any intimation of another method of writing, in uſe among the Jews about this time; and therefore, ſince it has been proved to be the ordinary method of the Jews to write their books on long rolls of parchment, I conclude St. Matthew alſo wrote his Goſpel ſo, and not, as Mr. Whiſton ſays, upon ſmall pieces of paper; which will more fully appear in the following chapter.

[a] At enim Zacharias temporali vocis orbatione mulctatus—manibus ſuis a corde dictat, et nomen filii ſine ore pronuntiat; loquitur in Stylo, auditur in Cera, &c. Lib. de Idololat. c. 23.

[b] Eraſmus, Gualtperius, Heinſius, et alii, ad loc.

[c] Literæ, lituræque omnes aſſimulatæ, expreſſæ, de tabulis in libros transferuntur. Orat. vii. in Verrem, verſ. fin.

CHAP. XVI.

Mr. Whiſton's ſtrange Suppoſition, of St. Matthew's writing this Part of his Goſpel on ſmall Pieces of Paper, confuted from the Conſideration of their Number and unequal Size. A Table of them, by which it appears that they were at leaſt twenty in Number, of very different Sizes. Some contained ſeveral Chapters, others but a few Verſes, others but one Verſe. The Improbability of St. Matthew's writing thus. The Size of the Parchment Rolls, on which the Jews wrote.

THE improbability of St. Matthew's writing his Goſpel upon ſmall pieces of paper (as Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes he did), will appear much greater, if we conſider the *number and ſize of theſe ſeveral papers.*

It is an old and true ſaying of the philoſopher, Ἑνὸς ἀτόπου δοθέντος, πολλὰ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι συμβαίνειν; *One abſurdity advanced, neceſſarily leads a perſon into many others to maintain it.* For as truth needs not to be, nor indeed can be, ſupported by that which is falſe; ſo that which is falſe, cannot be ſupported by any thing which is true. A ſtrange fondneſs to be reputed the authors of ſome new diſcovery, and a great unwillingneſs to be of the ſame opinion with the greateſt part of the world, often betrays very learned men into thoſe abſurdities, which elſe they would never have fallen into or maintained. I do not ſay, nor do I believe, this was the caſe with Mr. Whiſton; and yet I cannot but think, that it was a too great zeal for his new opinion, which hindered him from ſeeing the conſequences of it: nothing elſe could have prevented a genius ſo penetrating, from diſcovering thoſe conſequences of his opinion, which I am now about to obſerve.

His hypotheſis (as has been ſaid already) is, *that the ſeveral parts or periods of this former part of St. Matthew's Goſpel, were written at firſt ſeparately, and upon ſeveral diſtinct papers; which were put together in their preſent order by thoſe, who*

who did not perfectly know the true ſeries of the hiſtory. So then every one of the tranſpoſed and miſplaced branches, be it larger, or leſſer, was written on a diſtinct ſeparate piece of paper. Now there can be no better argument to confute this hypotheſis, than the conſideration of the *ſize* and *number* of theſe papers. Upon due examination we ſhall find the number to be no leſs than *twenty*, in this ſmall part of the hiſtory, of *very different and unequal ſizes*; as will appear by the following table, made out of Mr. Whiſton's Harmony.

A Table of the ſeveral diſtinct papers, on which, according to Mr. Whiſton, St. Matthew at firſt wrote his Goſpel, with the number of verſes, of which each part or paper did conſiſt.

N. B. I have in this Table obſerved the order of Mr. Whiſton's Harmony.

The papers on which St. Matthew wrote, ſince miſplaced.	The number of verſes, of which each paper did conſiſt.
1. Ch. viii. 14—17.	1. Four verſes.
2. viii. 2—4.	2. Three verſes.
3. ix. 2—17.	3. Sixteen verſes.
4. xii. 1—21.	4. Twenty-one verſes.
5. iv. 23—25. and v. 1.	5. Four verſes.
6. viii. 1.	6. One verſe.
7. v. 2, &c. vi and vii.	7. A hundred and ten.
8. viii. 5—13.	8. Nine verſes.
9. xi. 2 to the end.	9. Twenty-nine verſes.
10. xii. 22—50. and xiii. 1—53.	10. Eighty-one verſes.
11. viii. 18.	11. One verſe.
12. viii. 23—34. and ix. 1.	12. Thirteen verſes.
13. viii. 19—22.	13. Four verſes.
14. ix. 18—34.	14. Seventeen verſes.
15. xiii. 54—58.	15. Five verſes.
16. ix. 35—38. and x. and xi. 1.	16. Forty-ſeven verſes.

Theſe are the ſeveral parts of St. Matthew's Goſpel, which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes miſplaced; beſides theſe, there is alſo another branch in the former part of this Goſpel, which he has in his Harmony placed contrary to the order of our preſent copies; and conſequently, muſt according to this hypotheſis be miſplaced, and ſo alſo be wrote upon a ſeparate and diſtinct piece of paper. That which I mean, is the account of our Lord's temptation by the Devil in the mountain, chap. iv. 8, &c. This evidently implies the diſlocation of two other branches, and conſequently their being wrote alſo on ſeparate pieces of paper. Theſe papers, and the number of verſes are,

17. Ch. iv. 8—11.	17. Three	} Verſes.
18. and ver. 5—8.	18. Three	
19. and ver. 12—22.	19. Twelve	

Thus it is evident, that, according to Mr. Whiſton, St. Matthew muſt have wrote this former part of his Goſpel *upon twenty ſeveral pieces of paper*; although we ſuppoſe that the three firſt chapters, and the four firſt verſes of the fourth, were all wrote upon one. But is this a thing credible? eſpecially if we look upon the foregoing table, and ſee of what very different ſizes theſe papers were, ſome to contain *two or three long chapters*, others only *two or three ſhort verſes*, and others only *one*. What reaſon can poſſibly be aſſigned, why this inſpired Apoſtle ſhould write after this manner? I remember Diogenes Laertius, in the Life of Cleanthes, tells us [a], that that philoſopher "being poor, and wanting money "to buy paper, was wont to write the lectures and diſcourſes "of his maſter Zeno on ſmall ſhells or bones of oxen." But however poor our Saviour's Apoſtles were, we can hardly ſuppoſe them forced to any ſuch neceſſity as this: St. Matthew certainly was able to procure a few ſkins of parchment to write his Goſpel upon; and, if he was, nothing can excuſe

[a] Τὸν φασιν εἰς ὄστρακα καὶ βοῶν ὠμοπλάτας γράφειν, ἅπερ ἤκουε παρὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος, ἀπορίᾳ χαρτίων ὥστε ὠνήσασθαι χαρτία. Diog. Laert. in Vit. Cleant. §. 174.

him

him for writing it as Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes. He could not but foreſee his Goſpel ſo wrote, muſt be liable to confuſion and diſlocation; and can it be ſuppoſed, that an inſpired writer would have no more regard to that which was dictated to him by God's holy Spirit? Would he be ſo unaccountably careleſs in writing that which was deſigned for the benefit of mankind in all ages of the world? A perſon of an ordinary capacity, in writing a common book, cannot be ſuppoſed to have wrote after ſuch a manner, and much leſs *an accurate writer under the conduct of divine Inſpiration* (as Mr. Whiſton allows St. Matthew to have been), in writing one of the moſt uſeful books, and of the moſt important conſequence to the world, that ever was wrote.

The foregoing reaſoning may (if indeed it needed any) receive ſome confirmation, from the conſideration of St. Matthew's character; *he was a Publican*, and therefore more likely to be exact and accurate in his writing, than others. The Publicans were cuſtom-houſe officers, whoſe buſineſs was to take an account of the importation and exportation of goods, and to collect the money or duty which was laid upon them. For this purpoſe they had (as Cicero tells us [a]) their *tabulas accepti et expenſi*, which were very exact *accounts of what they expended, and what they received*, and were upon proper occaſions (if not always) *transferred into books, and tranſmitted to Rome* [b]. Of this occupation was St. Matthew, one whoſe buſineſs was writing; and is it at all probable, that ſuch a one would write after the manner Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes? If he was no more careful in the keeping of his accounts, than this ſuppoſes him to be in writing his Goſpel, truly he was but a very bad officer.

It may not be improper, before I conclude this argument, to ſhew ſomewhat of the *ſize of theſe parchment rolls, on which the Jews were wont to write*; that ſo comparing theſe with thoſe pieces of paper, on which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes St. Matthew to have wrote, that ſuppoſition may appear the more unreaſonable.

[a] Orat. in Verr. vii. §. 186. [b] Cicer. ibid. verſ. fin.

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It is very certain theſe rolls were of very different ſizes; the prophet Iſaiah was commanded to prepare *a great roll*, chap. viii. 1. and Jeremiah prepared ſuch a one, as contained *all the prophecies God had ſpoke by him againſt Iſrael and Judah, from the days of Joſiah unto that time*, chap. xxxvi. 2. i. e. as many as he had received in the ſpace of *twenty-three years*, as appears by the chronology, and chap. xxv. 3. Joſephus, when he had finiſhed his hiſtory of the Jewiſh Antiquities, ſays, it was βιβλίοις μὲν εἴκοσι πεπειλημένην, *folded up in twenty volumes or books*. The expreſſion (if I do not miſtake it) ſeems to imply, that each of theſe books was a diſtinct volume; and ſo every one of them was of a larger ſize, than the whole of St. Matthew's Goſpel would have made. He adds further, that theſe twenty books contained ſixty thouſand στίχοι or *lines*; and ſince theſe books were moſt of them contrived by the author to be pretty near of a ſize, we may conclude that, one with another, each of theſe volumes contained about three thouſand lines; and ſuch volumes muſt needs [a] contain a great many ſkins of parchment.

Maimonides out of the Talmud tells us, that the parchments, on which the Jews wrote their bibles, were to be ſix hands in breadth, and ſix in length [b]; and ſo the preſent Jews, retaining the old cuſtom of their nation, write the law which they uſe in their ſynagogues, in one ſuch large volume [c]. And if Father Simon is to be believed, the Jews have not altered the antient cuſtom, but have juſt ſuch volumes in their ſynagogues now, as formerly they had. There is a controverſy between that Father and the learned Iſaac Voſſius on that head; the former contending, that "the Pentateuch, or five "books of Moſes, did all make but one volume;" the latter, "that they were as many volumes as books." The former

[a] After a computation of the number of lines in one of the cloſeſt of our printed editions in folio, in which the Greek taketh the whole breadth of the page, I find the number of lines in the print, does not amount to very much above a third part of the number of lines, that were in Joſephus's own manuſcript.

[b] Vide Leuſden. Diſſert. 34. de Pentateuch. Manuſcriptis, p. 399, and Dr. Prideaux's Connection of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. Part 1. b. 5.

[c] Vid. Leuſden. loc. cit.

aſſerts,

aſſerts, " they were one volume in the time of Chriſt;" the latter ſays; " the contrary is evident from the hiſtory of Ariſ-" ſtæas, which mentions the law as written in ſeveral vo-" lumes;" and adds, " that of the infinite number of books " there are in the world divided into volumes, there is not " one in all antiquity which can be evidenced to have been " as big a volume, as half the Pentateuch would have made." He concludes aſſerting the preſent ſynagogue books to be *more for ſhew, than for uſe*, &c.[a] It does not ſeem very material, which of theſe learned gentlemen was in the right: either of their opinions being ſuppoſed true, ſufficiently evidences the abſurdity of imagining St. Matthew to have wrote ſo ſmall a part of his Goſpel, on ſo many pieces of paper as have been mentioned.

Thus I have endeavoured to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs of ſuppoſing St. Matthew to have wrote after that manner, which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes: after the cloſeſt conſideration of the matter, I am not able to conceive of any thing, which could be the motive or reaſon of St. Matthew's writing thus. Perhaps it may be ſaid, he wrote down his accounts of matters as they came to paſs, leſt they ſhould ſlip his memory; but this ſuppoſition is upon many accounts groundleſs and falſe, ſeveral of theſe things having come to paſs before St. Matthew was called, and almoſt all the parts or periods ſo introduced, as to imply a connection (though not in point of time) with the preceding and following parts of the hiſtory. But a fuller anſwer to this opinion I do not think myſelf yet obliged to make; only would refer the reader to the foregoing table.

As to the hints, which Mr. Whiſton propoſes, to reſtore theſe diſordered parts to their true order again, I cannot think, that, beſides what has been already ſaid, they require any particular conſideration. I would only make this one remark

[a] Cum infiniti ſuperſint libri in volumina diſtincti, vel unum in tota antiquitate oſtendatur volumen, quod ad tantam excreſcat molem, ut vel dimidiam librorum Moyſis partem exæquet. Voſſ. Reſponſ. ad iterat. P. Simon. Object. p. 171, et ejuſdem Reſponſ. ad tertias Simon. Object. p. 95.

from

from them, viz. that he, who did tranſpoſe them, muſt be one that was very well acquainted with the Goſpel hiſtory; and ſuch a one could not poſſibly make ſuch blunders as theſe. But I leave this, and the more particular conſideration of this matter, to thoſe who ſhall judge it neceſſary.

CHAP. XVII.

Mr. Whiſton's Obſervation, that our preſent Greek Copies of this Goſpel are a Tranſlation out of Hebrew, and for that Reaſon more liable to the Diſorder, which he ſuppoſes, conſidered. St. Matthew did not write his Goſpel in Hebrew, though it is aſſerted by all the Fathers. The Fathers have frequently (one after another) fallen into the ſame Miſtake in Matters of Fact. How they came to fall into this Miſtake, viz. by taking the Goſpel of the Nazarenes and Ebionites for the true authentick Goſpel of St. Matthew. The Fathers were under a Sort of Neceſſity of believing this Miſtake.

THE remaining part of what Mr. Whiſton ſays, to eſtabliſh his propoſition, conſiſts of an obſervation or two, which he imagined would make it appear more probable, and give ſome light in this matter to ſome future inquiries; and a vindication of himſelf *from ſuch cenſures, as the ſtrangeneſs of the propoſition would occaſion* [a].

The two obſervations which Mr. Whiſton makes, are, he ſays, inſtead of ſome conjectures which he once deſigned to have offered, how theſe ſections came to be ſo ſtrangely tranſpoſed. It is to be lamented, that any thing ſhould have been the unhappy means of preventing ſo good a deſign. Mr. Whiſton's zeal for truth, and his indefatigable endeavours to find it out, perſuade me, that nothing but the impoſſibility of

[a] Pag. 111.

accompliſhing

accompliſhing his deſign, would have prevented him in purſuing it. For my part (as I have already ſaid) I cannot ſee any other way of accounting for the diſorder, than that which Mr. Whiſton and Mr. Toinard have taken, and which has been conſidered in the two foregoing chapters.

I proceed now to conſider Mr. Whiſton's two obſervations; the firſt is this, viz. "The preſent copies of St. Mat-"thew are only a tranſlation from the Hebrew (in which lan-"guage all antiquity affirm that Goſpel was written), and "may therefore more probably have been ſubject to ſome "confuſion and diſorder than any of the reſt, whoſe own co-"pies we ſtill have in the ſame language wherein they were "originally written by their authors."

This obſervation of Mr. Whiſton's will appear to be no ſupport to his hypotheſis, when the two following propoſitions are duly conſidered.

1. *That St. Matthew's Goſpel, in our preſent copies, is not a tranſlation out of Hebrew, but the original Greek itſelf, in which that Evangeliſt wrote.*

2. *Suppoſing our preſent Greek copies are a tranſlation out of Hebrew, yet they were not, for that reaſon, at all the more likely to ſuffer any ſuch diſlocations or diſorder, as Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes.*

1. *St. Matthew's Goſpel, in our preſent copies, is not a tranſlation out of Hebrew, but the original Greek itſelf, in which that Evangeliſt wrote.* I own indeed with Mr. Whiſton, *that all antiquity hath affirmed this:* I cannot find, that ſo much as any one of the antients did believe this Goſpel originally wrote in Greek. Papias [a], Irenæus [b], Origen [c], Jerome [d], Auſtin [e], Euſebius [f], Theophylact [g], and ſeveral others [h], do all agree

[a] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39.
[b] Adv. Hæreſ. l. 3. c. 1.
[c] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.
[d] Proem. in Comment. Sup. Matth. et in Catalog. Scriptor. Eccl. ad voc. Matth.
[e] De Conſenſ. Evang. l. 1. c. 2.
[f] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 24.
[g] Præfat. in Matth.
[h] There are ſeveral others, (viz. Cyril of Jeruſalem, Chryſoſtom, &c.) cited by Du Pin in his Hiſt. of the Canon of the New Teſt. vol. ii. c. 2. §. 3. but I have them not.

to aſſure us, that this Goſpel was originally wrote in Hebrew. I ſhall not go about particularly to conſider each of theſe teſtimonies; Dr. Whitby has already done this, as to the moſt conſiderable of them [a], *in his Prefatory Diſcourſe to the Four Evangeliſts:* inſtead of this, I will make a few obſervations, which may help to give ſome light into this matter.

1. It is certain, that a great many of the Fathers have fallen into the ſame miſtake, not only in matters of mere ſpeculation (which was very common), but alſo in matters of fact. Every one, who is at all acquainted with the Popiſh controverſial writings, will eaſily admit this obſervation to be true. It is common in them to meet with a great body of Fathers, cited to ſupport the moſt apparent falſehoods. A perſuaſion that the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament were corrupted by the Jews, prevailed very much among the Fathers, though a notorious falſehood: and Dr. Whitby, in his Treatiſe of Traditions, has ſhewed, that "the Fathers have been "impoſed upon by the Jews, in other things, received from "them by tradition, and aſſerted by more teſtimonies of an-"tient Fathers, than are vouched to prove that the Goſpel "according to St. Matthew was firſt written in Hebrew. "So, for inſtance, they do a great many of them relate the "ſtory, of the ſeventy tranſlators of the Greek Bible making "their tranſlation in ſo many cells, which is a mere fable." For a further confirmation of this matter, I ſhall think it ſufficient to refer the reader to that excellent treatiſe of Mr. Daillé, *Concerning the Right Uſe of the Fathers* [b].

It may here be objected, that I myſelf have made uſe of their teſtimony, to prove the manner in which St. Mark's Goſpel was wrote [c].

To this I only anſwer, that in ſuch caſes, where there can be no objection made againſt any particular teſtimony, nor any probable reaſon aſſigned, why they ſhould fall into ſuch miſtake, we ought certainly to believe them. The former was the caſe in reſpect of the writing of St. Mark's Goſpel;

[a] Sect. 5.
[b] See eſpecially Part II. c. 3.
[c] P. 50.

the

the latter is the caſe in the matter now under conſideration, as will appear by what follows.

2. Though we ſuppoſe it a miſtake that St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel in Hebrew, it was almoſt impoſſible that a great number of the fathers ſhould not fall into it. Although it was originally wrote in Greek, it had been very ſtrange if many of the Fathers had not believed it to be wrote in Hebrew. However like a paradox this may ſeem, I doubt not but to make it appear very probable by the following obſervations.

Obſ. I. That the Nazarenes or Ebionites, two very early ſects among the Chriſtians, had a Goſpel which they made uſe of, called The Goſpel according to the Hebrews [a]. Though they were certainly two different ſects (and *not the ſame perſons*, as Mr. Toland, according to his old way of blundering, would have them to be [b]), yet the difference between their Goſpels was not very great: ſome difference it ſeems there was, for the Goſpel of the Nazarenes *was moſt full and entire in Hebrew*, but the Goſpel of the Ebionites was *adulterated and imperfect*, if Epiphanius be to be credited in this matter [c]; but according to Jerome, they ſeem to have been the ſame Goſpel [d], for he ſpeaks of the Goſpel of the Nazarenes and Ebionites as *one*, *which*, ſays he, *I tranſlated into Greek*.

[a] Ἔχουσι δὲ (ſcil. Nazaræi) τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον πληρέστατον Ἑβραϊστί, Epiphan. Hæreſ. 29. §. 9.

In Evangelio juxta Hebræos—quo utuntur uſque hodie Nazareni. Hieronym. adv. Pelag. l. 3. c. 1. Εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι, ſcil. Ebionæi. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 27.

[b] In his late pamphlet called Nazarenus, c. 9.

[c] Epiphanius's account of the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, ſee in Hæreſ. 29, §. 9. juſt now cited. Of the Goſpel of the Ebionites, Hæreſ. 30. §. 3. he ſays they call it the Goſpel according to the Hebrews; and §. 13. he ſpeaks thus of it; Ἐν τῷ γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς Εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἀνομαζομένῳ, οὐχ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἠκρωτηριασμένῳ, Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν, &c. i. e. *in the Goſpel which the Ebionites uſe, called the Goſpel according to St. Matthew, not entire, but imperfect and corrupted.*

[d] In Evangelio, quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ, quod nuper in Græcum de Hebraico Sermone tranſtulimus. Comment. in Matth. l. 2. c. 12.

2. This their Goſpel was wrote in Hebrew, or rather, that which was then the language of the Jews, Syriack or Syro-Chaldaick. This is evident from the paſſages in Jerome and Epiphanius juſt cited. The former of whom tells us in another place, "that there was a Hebrew copy even in his time "in the library at Cæſarea;" and adds, "that he himſelf had "the liberty granted him by the Nazarenes that lived at Be-"rea, to tranſcribe their copy." It is thought by ſome that the Hebrew copy, which was at Cæſarea, was judged by Jerome to be St. Matthew's own manuſcript; but there is not any foundation for this opinion in that Father's words [a].

3. This Hebrew Goſpel, which the Nazarenes and Ebionites made uſe of, they believed, and conſequently declared, to be the true Goſpel, which St. Matthew wrote. This is evident by their putting ſo great a value upon it, *as to reject all the others, and to make uſe only of this* [b]. Hence Euſebius tells us [c], "that thoſe Jews, who had received the faith of "Chriſt, were extremely fond of this Goſpel according to "the Hebrews." By theſe Jews it is impoſſible (as Valeſius has obſerved) to underſtand any but the Nazarenes and Ebionites.

4. *This opinion, which the Nazarenes and Ebionites had of their Goſpel, prevailed ſo far, as to be believed by a great many, if not by moſt.* Jerome expreſsly tells us, that, in his time, *it was believed by moſt to be the true and authentick Goſpel of Matthew* [d]. And Euſebius tells us, that *it was acknowledged to be a genuine book, by moſt in his time, and that it was rejected only by ſome.* His words are; "Among theſe, viz.

[a] Porro ipſum Hebraicum habetur uſque hodie in Cæſarienſi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus Martyr ſtudioſiſſime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaræis, qui in Berœa, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, deſcribendi facultas fuit. Catalog. Script. Eccleſ. ad Matth.

[b] Τῶν λοιπῶν Εὐαγγελίων σμικρὸν ἐποιεῖτο λόγον. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 27.

Τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγέλιον, —ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25.

[d] In Evangelio, quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ, quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo ſermone tranſtulimus, et quod vocatur a pleriſque Matthæi authenticum: Comm. in Matth. lib. 2. c. 12.

"the

" the ſpurious books, ſome place the Goſpel according to the " Hebrews." His uſing the word τινες, and ſaying they were only *ſome*, who looked upon this Goſpel as ſpurious and Apocryphal, is a plain intimation, that *a great many believed it to be genuine* [a]. It is not at all ſtrange, that the Nazarenes ſhould endeavour to perſuade the world, that their Goſpel was the true one; and ſhould gain credit with thoſe, who were not able to contradict them.

5. *This current and commonly received opinion was moſt certainly falſe.* Here I muſt take it for granted, that our preſent Greek copies are authentick and true, I mean only ſo far as to contain all that St. Matthew wrote; and if ſo, it is certain the Goſpels of the Nazarenes and Ebionites were ſpurious, for they contain a great many idle fables, which are not in ours. Theſe interpolations or additions are in part collected by Grotius [b], Father Simon [c], and others; but very fully, and ſet down at large, by the learned and laborious Fabricius, in his uſeful book, intitled, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Teſtamenti*, &c. [d] Any one, who will be at the pains to conſult the places referred to, will ſoon perceive, that *the Goſpel of St. Matthew according to the Hebrews, which the Nazarenes and Ebionites made uſe of, was very different from our preſent Goſpel of St. Matthew.* The ſame may be undeniably proved from Jerome's tranſlating it into Greek; had it been the ſame, or had there been only ſome little difference between this Hebrew Goſpel, and the true Greek copies, which were received into the Canon of the Church, it had been very abſurd for Jerome to have tranſlated it out of the Hebrew into Greek, as he ſays he did. Now from the foregoing obſervations it is very eaſy to perceive, how it came to paſs that ſo many of the antient Fathers were impoſed upon, and made to believe that St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel in Hebrew. There was a Goſpel in the world, which went under St. Matthew's

[a] Ἤδη δ' ἐν τούτοις (ſc. νόθοις) τινες καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν. Loc. jam cit. Τινες, i. e. a paucis quibuſdam. Vid. Millii Proleg. in N. T. §. 40.

[b] In Titul. Matth.

[c] Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. par. 1. c. 7. p. 68, &c. Du Pin, vol. 2. c. 2. §. 3.

[d] From p. 356 to p. 371.

name, wrote in Hebrew, and declared by thoſe, who uſed it, to be the original of St. Matthew; the credulous multitude believed as the Nazarenes did, and ſo the miſtake was ſpread in the world. It is not poſſible but the Nazarenes would gain credit with ſome; nay it has been proved, that the generality did believe it; and therefore it can be no wonder, that ſo many have aſſerted it.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Fathers fell into the Miſtake that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, becauſe none of them, except Origen, Jerome, and Epiphanius, underſtood that Language. They, were, upon that Account, unable to compare the Goſpel of the Nazarenes with their own Greek Copies, and diſcover its Spuriouſneſs. This confirmed by a Remark, that none of the Fathers, who aſſert St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, have cited the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, except the three mentioned, who underſtood that Language. The Reaſons aſſigned, why they (Epiphanius, Jerome, and Origen) fell into the ſame Miſtake. Papias, the firſt Chriſtian Writer who aſſerts this, was a very fabulous and credulous Perſon, yet was followed by many of the Fathers in his Miſtakes (as Euſebius obſerves), by reaſon of his Antiquity. His Teſtimony in this Matter proved by one part of it to be falſe.

IT will very much add to the probability of the foregoing account, that of all thoſe Fathers, who have fallen into this miſtake, there were none that were able to prove it to be ſo, except Origen, Epiphanius, and Jerome. They did not any of them underſtand the Hebrew language, and conſequently not being able to compare the Goſpel of the Nazarenes with their own Greek copies, could not perceive its interpolations and additions, and ſo were under a ſort of neceſſity of believing the common report. Had they been able to have read this

this Hebrew Goſpel, and ſo to have perceived the difference between it and their own, they would certainly have rejected it, as not agreeable to St. Matthew's original, and conſequently have loſt the foundation of their opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew.

To ſupport this, I have made the following remark, viz. *That not one of all thoſe Fathers, who have aſſerted the Goſpel of St. Matthew to be originally wrote in Hebrew, have made any uſe of the Goſpel of the Nazarenes in their writings, except the three above-mentioned, who underſtood Hebrew.* There is not the leaſt evidence that either Papias, Irenæus, Euſebius, Auſtin, Chryſoſtom, Cyril, or Theophylact, ever ſaw, or made uſe of, this Goſpel. It is not ſo much as once referred to in all their writings [a]. This could only be, becauſe they did not underſtand the language in which it was written: had they underſtood Hebrew, no doubt ſome of them would have uſed it, as well as thoſe three Fathers who did. Indeed it has been thought by ſeveral learned men, that Papias made uſe of this Goſpel, and cited the ſtory of the adulterous woman out of it. So Father Simon; "Papias ſaith, that the hiſtory of "the woman, who was accuſed of many ſins before our Sa-"viour, is to be read in the Goſpel that was called *According* "*to the Hebrews.*" But this is a very great miſtake, which this and other learned men are fallen into, for want of carefully obſerving Euſebius's words; he does not ſay that *Papias took this out of the Goſpel according to the Hebrews*; but that this ſtory *was among Papias's works*, and then adds in his own words, *that this hiſtory is in that Goſpel* [b]. From whence it does not follow, that he, any more than Papias, had read this Goſpel. If then none of thoſe, who aſſert St. Matthew to have wrote in Hebrew, did underſtand Hebrew, and if none of them did ſee the Goſpel of the Nazarenes; no wonder they fell in with the common report of the Nazarenes, that their Goſpel was the true original one of St. Matthew. Thus I

[a] The ground of my aſſerting this, is Fabricius's collection of the fragments of it, among which there is not one cited out of any of thoſe Fathers.

[b] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 29.

have ſhewn, how very likely it was, the Fathers ſhould fall into this miſtake.

This is ſo far from being a precarious ſuppoſition, that it may be made very evident by that which Epiphanius tells us; viz. "That the Nazarenes, in his time, had the Goſpel of "Matthew very complete in Hebrew; for without doubt it "is preſerved by them till this day, as it was at firſt written "in Hebrew letters; but I cannot tell whether they have "taken away the genealogies from Abraham to Chriſt, or "not [a]." Now from theſe words it is evident,

1. That he never ſaw the Goſpel of the Nazarenes; and ſo,

2. He thought it to be the very ſame with that which St. Matthew wrote; wherefore,

3. He could not but believe St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel at firſt in Hebrew.

This was the caſe with Epiphanius; and if it was ſo with one that was a native of Paleſtine, that underſtood the Hebrew language; if, I ſay, he was thus impoſed upon by the Nazarenes, how much more eaſily would thoſe be impoſed upon, who lived in diſtant countries, and knew nothing at all of the language.

It ſeems indeed a little ſtrange, that Origen and Jerome, who both underſtood the language, and ſaw the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, ſhould fall into this error. They compared frequently the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, and the Greek copies together, and cite them very often in their works; nay, and Jerome tranſlated this Goſpel into Greek and Latin: they could not therefore be deceived, and think it the original of St. Matthew, and therefore conclude that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew.

This indeed ſeems to be a very conſiderable objection,

[a] Ἔχουσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον πληρέστατον Ἑβραϊστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ σαφῶς τοῦτο, καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγράφη Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν, ἔτι σώζεται. Οὐκ οἶδα δὲ, εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἄχρι Χριστοῦ περιεῖλον. Hæreſ. 29. §. 9.

which

which has not, I think, been at all taken notice of yet. In anſwer to it, I obſerve;

1. As to Origen, that he does not deliver it as his opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, *but only as what he received by tradition*; unleſs he mention it ſomewhere elſe in his writings, beſides that place cited by Euſebius[a]. But,

2. Suppoſe both Jerome and he had aſſerted this, it might perhaps proceed *from a too great reſpect to ſo univerſal a tradition.* They found it was aſſerted by every body, and therefore they believed it: it is well known, how very little ſuſpicious the firſt Chriſtians were of the traditions of the Church. But,

3. This will appear more probable, if we conſider, *who among the Gentile Chriſtians was the firſt author of this opinion.* As far as we can trace it, it owes its original to Papias, Biſhop of Hierapolis[b]; who, though a perſon of a very weak genius, both credulous and fabulous, was very likely to be believed, even by Jerome and Origen. He was cotemporary with the Apoſtles, and paſſed under the ſpecious character of being *a hearer of St. John, an intimate of Polycarp, and a man of the greateſt antiquity*[c]; and this poſſibly might, in ſome meaſure, influence theſe two learned men to give into the received opinion, without making themſelves a ſtrict inquiry thereinto.

4. This conjecture is very much confirmed by a remark, which Euſebius has made concerning this Papias[d], viz. "That he has related a great many fabulous ſtories of our "Saviour, particularly that he ſhould reign corporally on "earth, for a thouſand years after the reſurrection. Theſe

[a] Ὡς ἐν παραδόσει μαθὼν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων Εὐαγγελίων. Hiſtor. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.

[b] L. 6. c. 39.

[c] Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστὴς, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονὼς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ. Iren. adv. Hæreſ. l. 5. c. 33. Concerning Papias's age, and this teſtimony of Irenæus, ſee the learned Mr. Dodwell's Diſſert. in Iren. 1. §. 3, &c.

[d] Σφόδρα γάρ τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηράμενον εἰπεῖν, φαίνεται· πολλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν πολλοῖς ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, τῆς ὁμοίας αὐτῷ δόξης παραίτιος γέγονε, τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τἀνδρὸς προβαλλομένοις. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39.

"things,

" things, ſays Euſebius, he imagined, miſtaking the Apoſtles' " meaning—for he was a perſon of a very mean genius, as " appears from his works; yet almoſt all Eccleſiaſtical wri- " ters were led by him into this miſtake, influenced by the " antiquity of the man; or as Valeſius renders it, *hominis* " *vetuſtate ſententiam ſuam tuentibus*, i. e. defending their " opinion by the argument of its author's antiquity." This now makes it more probable, that Origen and Jerome, who were able to confute it, ſhould yet receive this common tradition.

Having here had occaſion to mention Papias, as the firſt who publiſhed this opinion of St. Matthew's being written originally in Hebrew, I cannot but take notice of *one thing in his teſtimony, which ſeems to invalidate it, or at leaſt to make it very dubious and uncertain.* What I mean is this: he ſays[a], that St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel in Hebrew, and that *every one interpreted it as they were able*, ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἠδύνατο ἕκαστος. Now hence it follows, that in his time there was no authentick Greek Verſion made, if there was any at all. This Father Simon (though it be to ſerve a bad purpoſe) does juſtly infer[b]; " If," ſays he, " there had been in his time " (viz. Papias's) a Greek Verſion of the Goſpel of St. Mat- " thew, which had been made by ſome Apoſtle, he would not " have failed to have told us of it." But notwithſtanding this aſſertion of Papias, there ſeems to be very good reaſon to believe the contrary; for all the writers of that age, cotemporaries with Papias, and ſome of them older than he, when they cite this Goſpel, do cite it as it is in our preſent Greek copies. Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Barnabas, Polycarp (an acquaintance of Papias's[c]), Irenæus (an acquaintance of Polycarp's[d]), and Juſtin Martyr, do cite this Goſpel in ſuch a manner, as undeniably evidences, not only that they made uſe of the ſame copies, but alſo the ſame with our preſent Greek ones. This I aſſert upon a ſtrict examination of this

[a] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39.
[b] Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part 1. c. 9. p. 79.
[c] Iren. Adv. Hæreſ. l. 5. c. 33.
[d] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 20.

matter

matter in each of theſe authors. Now this could not poſſibly have been, if, according to Papias, every one tranſlated as they were able, and there was no common verſion. Nothing can be more abſurd than to ſuppoſe, that they ſhould all happen to make uſe of the ſame Greek words. Beſides, none of theſe Fathers, except Barnabas, did underſtand, or were able to tranſlate at all out of the Hebrew. There muſt therefore (ſuppoſing St. Matthew to have wrote in Hebrew) been ſome common verſion at this time into Greek, and conſequently Papias muſt be miſtaken in this part of his teſtimony; and if ſo, it ſeems very reaſonable to conclude, he was miſtaken in the other part alſo. And thus I think we have ſet aſide the firſt and moſt antient teſtimony, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that which, together with the tradition of the Nazarenes, ſeems to have led ſo many of the Fathers into this miſtake.

Upon the whole, this is what I judge to be clear from what has been ſaid: the Nazarenes made very early a tranſlation of St. Matthew's Goſpel into Hebrew, for the uſe of the Jews, with ſeveral additions; this they ſtill called, *The Goſpel of St. Matthew*, and declared to be his original; Papias, a ſilly and credulous writer, believed them; and ſo, in ſucceeding ages, the Nazarenes ſtill declaring the ſame, the opinion paſſed from one to another without any contradiction [a].

[a] Les Nazaréens écrivèrent leur Evangile ſur les inſtructions ou Memoires de S. Matthieu, et ils en parlèrent comme de l'Evangile de S. Matthieu. Papias les crut de bonne foi, et cette opinion paſſe ainſi de main en main. Mr. L'Enfant, Chaplain to the King of Pruſſia, in his Remarks upon Dr. Mill's Teſtament, in a Letter to Mr. Le Clerc, Biblioth. choiſie. Tom. 16. Art. 5. p. 292.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Several Arguments, by which it appears probable, that St. Matthew did not write his Goſpel in Hebrew. The Greek was the moſt common Language, and for that Reaſon that Goſpel was moſt likely to be uſeful therein. The Suppoſing it a Tranſlation makes its Inſpiration dubious. It is not probable, that the Original Hebrew would ever have been loſt. The Hebrew one we have now, is certainly a Tranſlation out of Greek.

THOUGH there is not, that I know of, any one conſiderable argument to prove, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, beſides the teſtimony of the Fathers; yet very great numbers of learned men have thought that of itſelf ſufficient. The Papiſts almoſt all, and a great many among the Proteſtants (viz. Caſaubon, Grotius, Dr. Cave, Voſſius, &c.), have ſubmitted to the authority of the Fathers in this matter. On the other hand, the warmeſt advocates for the Reformation (viz. Calvin, Chemnitius, Chamier, Whitaker, Mich. Waltherus, &c.) contend, that our preſent Greek copies are the original in which St. Matthew wrote.

Having in the foregoing Chapter endeavoured to ſhew, how it came to paſs, that the Fathers ſo univerſally fell into the miſtake of St. Matthew's being wrote in Hebrew, I would now offer two or three other arguments, whereby it will appear, this Goſpel was originally written in Greek, and not in Hebrew.

1. *The Greek was the moſt proper language for St. Matthew to write in, in order to anſwer the ends and deſigns of his writing.* Here I muſt take it for granted, that St. Matthew's deſign in writing, was the ſame as that of the other writers of the New Teſtament, viz. the propagating the hiſtory and doctrines of Chriſt, to as great a part of the world as poſſible.

For

For though St. Matthew (as well as St. Mark, and perhaps all the ſacred writers of the New Teſtament) was more immediately influenced by ſome particular occaſion to write; yet there can be no doubt but that he would write his Goſpel, ſo that it might be of the moſt extenſive uſefulneſs. It is hard to ſuppoſe him under the conduct of divine inſpiration, and not ſuppoſe him to write ſo, as his Goſpel ſhould be moſt uſeful and beneficial to the world; and if ſo, then it was neceſſary he ſhould write in Greek. The Hebrew language was then but very little known and uſed, in compariſon of what the Greek was. Nay the Latin, the language of the empire, was not at that time, when St. Matthew wrote, near ſo much in uſe as the Greek: *the Greek language is read in all nations, but the Latin is confined within very narrow limits,* ſays Cicero[a]. Hence it is obſervable, that St. Paul, though he wrote to the Jews or Hebrews, yet, for the more extenſive uſefulneſs of that inſpired Epiſtle, wrote in Greek. And ſo alſo did St. Peter and St. James, although their Epiſtles were immediately deſigned for, and directed to, the Jews.

2. Our preſent Greek copy of St. Matthew is not a tranſlation out of Hebrew, *becauſe the ſuppoſing it to be ſo, makes its authority very precarious and uncertain.* This argument is founded upon the ſuppoſition of this (as well as other hiſtorical books) being wrote by the influences and inſpiration of the Holy Spirit. Now the ſuppoſing it a tranſlation, is inconſiſtent with that authority and eſteem, which every inſpired book does neceſſarily demand. This is evident, becauſe we have not the leaſt evidence of the inſpiration of the tranſlator, nor the leaſt reaſon to conclude the tranſlation is juſt. The Fathers, who were impoſed upon to believe it originally wrote in Hebrew, found themſelves under a neceſſity of imputing the tranſlation to ſome inſpired perſon, though they can by no means agree who the perſon was. The Author of the Synopſis which goes under Athanaſius's name, ſays; *It was tranſlated by James, the brother of our Lord, according to the*

[a] Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina ſuis finibus, exiguis ſane, continentur. Orat. pro Arch. Poet. §. 23.

fleſh.

fleſh[a]. Theophylact attributes it to St. John the Evangeliſt, according to the tradition that was current in his time[b]. Anaſtaſius Sinaita ſays it was done by St. Luke and St. Paul jointly[c]. Nicephorus aſcribes it to Barnabas[d]. Such was the diverſity of opinions among the antients in this matter; but in this they all agree, that it was neceſſary it ſhould be done by an inſpired perſon. So alſo the more modern writers, eſpecially the Proteſtants, who believe it a tranſlation (though few, I think, except Dr. Mill[e] pretend to fix the perſon), all find it neceſſary to conclude it done by an inſpired perſon. So Caſaubon[f] and many others; but the truth is, they have no juſt foundation for ſaying ſo: Jerome honeſtly confeſſes, *it was very uncertain, who tranſlated it out of Hebrew into Greek*[g]: and if ſo, it is impoſſible it ſhould have equal authority with the other books. For all we know to the contrary, it may be a very falſe and corrupt tranſlation; it may be done by a perſon no way qualified for ſuch a work; and does not this now make its authority dubious and uncertain? For my part I freely own, if I believed it to be a tranſlation made by a perſon I know nothing of, I could not yield it that ſame reſpect, and have that ſame value for it, as the other parts of the ſacred writings. The Papiſts, who are always endeavouring to leſſen the authority of the Scriptures, that ſo they might make them depend upon their church for their authority, were very well aware of this; and hence there is not, I think, above one or two of them (viz. Cajetan, and Eraſmus, if he be to be called a Papiſt), but have fallen in with the common error of the Fathers. Baronius, Father Simon, Du Pin, and the

[a] Ἐρμηνεύθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα. Vid. Caſaub. ad Baron. Annal. c. 16. §. 115.

[b] Præfat. in Matth.

[c] Apud Caſaub. ibid.

[d] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 16. c. 37.

[e] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. §. 66.

[f] Quæ diverſitas ſententiarum, ut de vero auctore certo pronuntiare nos vetat, ita illud certiſſime demonſtrat, ipſis Apoſtolorum temporibus, ab uno illorum, aut illorum auſpicius, vel potius Spiritus Sancti, cujus ipſi erant organa, Græcum textum ex Hebraico eſſe confectum. Exercit. ad Baron. Annal. c. 15. §. 12.

[g] Quod quis poſtea in Græcum tranſtulerit, non ſatis certum eſt. Catal. Eccleſ. Script. in voc. Matth.

reſt

reſt of the Popiſh writers, have been of this opinion, and being ſo, have not failed to draw the conſequence I am now ſpeaking of, from it, viz. *that our preſent Greek copies are of very dubious authority.* "I affirm it," ſays Baronius[a], "that "the authority of the Greek text is very uncertain, unleſs we "had the original Hebrew to compare with it." The learned Caſaubon in his anſwer to Baronius (though he believed St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel in Hebrew) was very unwilling to allow the Cardinal's conſequence; "If," ſays he, "the Greek "text of this Goſpel depends upon the Hebrew, then this "Goſpel, as we have it now, is of no authority;" and adds a little after; "then the faith of the true Catholick Church muſt "depend upon the faith or credit of Hereticks *(he means the "Roman Church)*, which God forbid[b]." To this Father Simon anſwers, heartily eſpouſing the cauſe of Baronius, and ſays in ſo many words; "There is nothing, but the authority "of the church alone, that gives authority to this Verſion, and "that can oblige us to prefer it before the Hebrew or Chal-"daick copy of the Nazarenes[c]." However Caſaubon and other Proteſtants may ſeem to thuffle off, and elude theſe conſequences, they ſeem to be inevitable. Hence it was juſtly remarked by Mr. L'Enfant in his letter to Le Clerc[d]; "It "appears to me very probable, that St. Matthew wrote his "Goſpel in Greek, as the other Apoſtles did, and with the "ſame deſign. For I can think of nothing that ſounds more "like a Papiſt, than to talk of the work of an Apoſtle tranſ-"lated into Greek, by I do not know who, nor I do not know "how." As we would therefore avoid this conſequence of

[a] Dico, quod Græcus textus cujus fidei ſit, niſi collato cum Hebræo originali, affirmare non poſſumus. Apud Caſaubon. Exercit. c. 16. §. 115.

[b] Si auctoritas Græci textus pendet ab Hebraico textu; quum Hebræa dudum perierint, neque uſquam extent hodie; ſequitur neceſſario, nullum hodie ejus Evangelii debere eſſe pondus, nullam auctoritatem—Adde quod hæc ſententia fidem Catholicæ Eccleſiæ facit pendere (nefas dictu) ab hæreticorum fide. Caſaub. ibid.

Critic Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Par. 1. c. 9.

[d] Il me paroit fort vraiſemblable, que St. Matthieu écrivit ſon Evangile en Grec, comme les autres, et dans le même deſſein. Car je ne trouve rien, qui ait plus l'air d'un Romain, qu'une Verſion Grèque d'un ouvrage d'un Apôtre, faite par je ne ſais qui, ni comment. Biblioth. Choiſie, tom. 16. Art. 5. p. 292.

making

making the authority of this Goſpel uncertain, we muſt conclude it not to be a tranſlation. I would only add further on this head, that not only the Papiſts, but the Jews, and other enemies of Chriſtianity, will be very likely to improve this aſſertion to the diſhonour of this Goſpel, ſo far as to make them reject as uncertain one of the moſt valuable parts of ſacred Hiſtory. This is not only what might be reaſonably expected, but what has been really matter of fact[a]. So the learned Jew, with whom Limborch diſputes, argues againſt this Goſpel; "They ſay," ſays he, "that Matthew wrote in "Hebrew, but the original is loſt; afterwards his Goſpel ap"peared in Greek, but no body knows who tranſlated it[b]."

3. St. Matthew's Goſpel was not wrote originally in Hebrew, but in Greek; becauſe, if ſo, the original Goſpel is entirely loſt, which cannot be ſuppoſed. If it was wrote in Hebrew, it is very certain that which we now have in that language under St. Matthew's name, is not it. For this was firſt publiſhed by Munſter, and he owns he received it from the Jews *tattered, torn, and very imperfect*, and *that he himſelf added what he thought neceſſary:* ſo that it is very ſtrange, that Quinquarboreus, in his preface to this Hebrew Goſpel[c], ſhould imagine it to be the very ſame Goſpel which St. Matthew wrote, although he had obſerved what Munſter ſaid. I need not be at the pains to confute this opinion: it is evidently a Verſion of our preſent Greek; it has here and there a few words added, and ſometimes a few omitted; yet it is (as far as I have obſerved) a pretty good Verſion, though I dare affirm it is but a late one. If St. Matthew therefore wrote in Hebrew, the original is loſt; but this cannot be ſuppoſed, without alſo ſuppoſing the firſt Chriſtians and primitive churches guilty of unpardonable negligence. Is it likely a treaſure of ſo much value, would be no more regarded? If it

[a] Vid. Sixt. Senenſ. l. 7. de Evang. Matth. Hæreſ.

[b] Matthæus fertur Hebraico idiomate ſcripſiſſe; ſed quod, eo autographo deperdito, Græco ſermone poſtea tranſlatum apparuit, ab incerto autore ea lingua donatum. Limborch. de Verit. Chriſt. Relig. quæſt. 4. num. 8.

[c] Quod autem hoc ipſum ſit Evangelium, quod D. Matthæus Hebraice ſcripſit, ambigere quis poſſit. Edit. Pariſ. A. D. 1551.

was

was wrote in Hebrew, it was wrote for the Jews, and the Jews were not wont to be ſo careleſs of their ſacred books. The Biſhop and Church at Jeruſalem would, no doubt, have ſafely preſerved a book ſo valuable. "Surely," ſays Chamier[a], "the negligence of the Univerſal Church, or even the "Church at Jeruſalem, would not be ſo great as to let the "original of St. Matthew be loſt, that there is not the leaſt "of it to be found; nay that it ſhould not only now be not "extant, but even utterly unknown in the ſecond century." There were, no doubt, copies of this Goſpel taken as ſoon as it was publiſhed, and ſpread among the Jews every where; and is it likely that all theſe copies ſhould be ſo entirely loſt? This is hard to be conceived, and therefore it is very improbable that St. Matthew wrote firſt in Hebrew.

CHAP. XX.

Though St. Matthew's Goſpel be ſuppoſed a Tranſlation out of Hebrew, yet it was not for that Reaſon more liable to Diſlocation or Diſorder.

AS it is probable, that our preſent Greek copies of St. Matthew are not a tranſlation out of Hebrew; ſo

2. It is certain that if they were, they would not have been at all upon that account more liable to the confuſion and diſorder Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes. I confeſs I am not able to gueſs, how the tranſlation (ſuppoſing it to be ſo) could any way influence, or occaſion theſe diſlocations. It were to be wiſhed that Mr. Whiſton had told us, how the tranſlating it could have had this bad influence, or that he had produced one ſingle inſtance of any one book in the world, that has thus ſuffered by its being tranſlated. Of the vaſt number of Verſions, that have

[a] Non fuiſſe tantam ſive Eccleſiæ Univerſalis, ſive etiam Hieroſolymitanæ, negligentiam, ut ejus Editionis nullum ſit omnino veſtigium conſervatum, &c. Panſtrat. Cathol. l. 11. c. 8. §. 8.

been made of the Old, and the other parts of the New Teſtament into all languages, not one has produced this bad effect; neither the Seventy, nor Jonathan, nor Onkelos, nor any other of the Greek or Chaldee tranſlators, diſordered the Old Teſtament by their Verſions; neither the Syriack, nor Arabick, nor any of the many Latin tranſlators of the New Teſtament, did occaſion any ſuch diſlocations in it; and is it then to be credited, that the tranſlator of St. Matthew ſhould be the occaſion of ſo many diſlocations in this part of his Goſpel? When not one of all the Verſions in the world has occaſioned ſo much as one ſingle diſorder, is it likely the tranſlator of St. Matthew ſhould occaſion about twenty, in ten ſhort chapters?

But to ſhew the abſurdity of this ſuppoſition, I would argue in the following manner:

If the tranſlation of this Goſpel be ſuppoſed to influence, and cauſe the tranſpoſition and diſorder of theſe ſeveral parts, then it is plain theſe parts were not tranſpoſed or miſplaced before the tranſlator began his work, and conſequently the diſorder muſt happen either *in the time of tranſlating*, or *afterwards*. It was not likely to be done *in the time of tranſlating*; for why ſhould a perſon's reading a book with a deſign to tranſlate it into another language, any more occaſion a diſorder in it, than if he had read it with no ſuch deſign? If it was in its right order *then* (according to the ſuppoſition), it is much more reaſonable to ſuppoſe the tranſlator would endeavour to keep it ſo, than by any means miſplace it. Thus it was not done in the time of tranſlating; and it is very evident the tranſlation could not influence the diſorder *after it was made*, but would rather be a good means to prevent any ſuch diſorder happening to the original, if there had been any danger of it.

The other remark, which Mr. Whiſton makes, is, that *this diſorder concludes, and the true order begins to be obſerved, at a very remarkable period*, viz. *the death of St. John the Baptiſt, and the commencing of our Saviour's ſingle miniſtry thereupon*[a]. To this I think it ſufficient to anſwer, that there are

[a] P. 111.

ſeveral

ſeveral other periods of the Goſpel hiſtory, as remarkable as this, where no diſorder has happened.

CHAP. XXI.

Several Arguments to prove, that our preſent Greek copies of St. Matthew are not at all tranſpoſed or diſordered, ſince that Evangeliſt's firſt writing. No Book ever was thus diſordered. It does not ſeem agreeable to the Care, which Divine Providence always exerciſed towards the ſacred Books, to permit this to have happened to St. Matthew's Goſpel. No other Part of St. Matthew's Goſpel diſordered, and therefore not this. The Diſlocations, which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes, could not happen to this Goſpel in the Apoſtles' Time.

HITHERTO I have been conſidering what Mr. Whiſton offers in defence of his propoſition, and by many ways ſhewing how unreaſonable it is, to aſſert this Goſpel ſo tranſpoſed and miſplaced, as he does. All that I ſhall do further, ſhall be only to add three or four other arguments, by which it will appear, that *our preſent copies of St. Matthew have not ſuffered any diſlocations, but are in this reſpect the very ſame, as when St. Matthew at firſt wrote.* In order to which I obſerve;

1. That there never has yet been diſcovered or proved an inſtance of any ſuch tranſpoſitions and miſplacings, in any writings ſacred or profane, in any language, by any means whatſoever. It is indeed very difficult to aſſert and defend an univerſal negative propoſition, and to ſay ſuch a thing *never has been*, unleſs the being of it be impoſſible, and imply a contradiction to ſome certain and well-eſtabliſhed truth. Though indeed ſuch a diſorder as Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes, be not a thing in itſelf abſolutely impoſſible to have happened either to this, or ſome other book; yet I will venture to aſſert, it is ſuch a diſorder, as never has happened to any one whatſoever. If

ever ſuch a thing did happen, it was moſt likely to have been before the art of writing was brought to that perfection, and had received thoſe improvements, which it had in St. Matthew's time: inſtead of this, not one of the books of the Old Teſtament, nor Homer, Heſiod, Demoſthenes, Iſocrates, &c. who wrote long before St. Matthew's time; nor any of the books of the New Teſtament; nor Cicero, Ovid, Horace, nor any of the Roman poets or hiſtorians, who wrote about his time, have ſuffered any ſuch misfortune, as Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes this Goſpel to have done. It is true indeed, Spinoza, and after him Father Simon, and Mr. Whiſton, *have imagined ſome ſuch diſlocations to have happened to ſome parts of the Old Teſtament* (as has been ſaid in the Preface). But after the cloſeſt examination of what they have ſaid, I can find little more than bare aſſertions; and therefore till ſome further proof, than yet has been, be made, I muſt conclude their opinion falſe.

2. It does not ſeem conſiſtent with that care, which Divine Providence always did exerciſe, and may be reaſonably ſuppoſed always would exerciſe, towards the books of inſpiration, to ſuppoſe this Goſpel ſo confuſed and diſordered as Mr. Whiſton does. Every one, who is at all acquainted with the hiſtory of the Jewiſh nation, muſt needs acknowledge, that a remarkably kind Providence has always concerned itſelf in the preſervation of the books of the Old Teſtament. In the moſt degenerate ſtate of that unhappy nation, in the times of their ignorance and idolatry, their ſlavery and captivity, the books which were given them by God, and received into the Canon of their Church, were preſerved ſafe and uncorrupted, notwithſtanding the malicious efforts of their enemies to the contrary. It does not appear that any one of all theſe books has been loſt [a], though their conquering enemies endeavoured to the utmoſt to deſtroy them. A remarkable inſtance of this Joſephus tells us [b]; viz. that *Antiochus Epiphanes, when he*

[a] Vide Turretin. de Script. Quæſt. 7. et Spanhem. Dub. Evang. Par. 2. Dub. 88.

[b] Ἡφανίζετο δὲ, εἴ που βίβλος εὑρεθείη ἱερὰ, καὶ νόμος, καὶ παρ' οἷς εὑρεθείη, καὶ ὅτοι κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. Antiq. Jud. l. 12. c. 5. §. 4. The ſame account we have 1 Macc. i. 56, 57.

had

had ſubdued Jeruſalem, tried all poſſible methods to aboliſh the religion of the Jews; and, in order to that, made particular ſearch after the ſacred volume, deſtroying it wherever it was found, and puniſhing with death all thoſe in whoſe poſſeſſion it was. But he, who was the author of them, took care of them, and preſerved them not only from being loſt, but from being in any remarkable degree corrupted. It is true indeed, there are ſome ſlight corruptions crept into the text, both of the Old and New Teſtament, through the careleſsneſs of tranſcribers; there are a great number of various lections in both; but theſe are ſuch as without a conſtant miracle could not but happen, and are to be found in as great, or greater number, in ſeveral of the profane authors (as the learned Dr. Bentley has very well obſerved *), and are for the moſt part ſuch, that it is not much matter which reading we chooſe. But the corruptions, which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes in St. Matthew, are of another nature: theſe are ſuch as render the text of the Goſpel very precarious, and make it depend upon the judgment and fancy of every one, who pleaſes to alter it. And is this now conſiſtent with the care of Divine Providence? Is it likely God would permit this uſeful Goſpel to be thus confuſedly put together by ſuch a blunderer, who out of twenty parts could not put but *one* in its proper order? This ſure can never be believed by any, who acknowledge a divine Providence to have concerned itſelf at all about the ſacred volume.

3. It is very improbable this part of St. Matthew's Goſpel ſhould be ſo diſordered and confuſed; becauſe all the other part of it is exactly in the order, in which the Evangeliſt wrote, without the leaſt tranſpoſition. Mr. Whiſton's hypotheſis, by which he accounts for the diſlocation of the ſeveral periods of the former part of this Goſpel, is, that they were wrote upon *ſeparate and diſtinct* pieces of paper: now upon this hypotheſis I argue thus;

Either St. Matthew wrote the other parts of his Goſpel on ſmall pieces of paper, or he did not. If it be ſaid, he did not, then it is yet more unaccountable, that he ſhould write this for-

* Anſwer to the Diſcourſe of Free Thinking, Part I. p. 64, &c.

mer part ſo: it is incredible, that theſe fourteen chapters ſhould be written on twenty ſeveral pieces of paper, and the other fourteen on one large roll. If on the other hand it be ſaid, that St. Matthew wrote the latter part of his Goſpel, as he did the former, on many pieces of paper; then it is no leſs incredible, that none of theſe pieces ſhould have the ſame misfortune to be diſordered and miſplaced, as the former. How can it be ſuppoſed poſſible, that every one of the papers in the latter part ſhould be in its right and due order, and not ſo much as one of the former but is miſplaced, except the firſt? I conclude therefore, that the former part of this Goſpel is not miſplaced.

4. The improbability of this part of St. Matthew's Goſpel being miſplaced, will appear, if we conſider that there has been no time ever ſince St. Matthew wrote, in which there were not ſome circumſtances, which would prevent ſuch a diſorder. To evidence this, I argue thus; If this part of St. Matthew's Goſpel be miſplaced, either the diſorder happened in the Apoſtles' time, or not till after their deceaſe. But as it is improbable that it happened in their time, ſo it is morally impoſſible that it ſhould have happened afterwards.

I. It is not probable, that this diſorder could happen in the time of the Apoſtles; for if it had, they would, no doubt, have rectified it. Many reaſons would oblige them, not to ſuffer ſo great a diſlocation to remain in the Goſpel hiſtory. They would never recommend a book to the peruſal of their converts, which they knew juſtly chargeable with ſuch notorious corruptions. It is much more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that, if this Goſpel was then miſplaced and out of order, they would reſtore it to its proper order, and take care that ſome copies ſhould be made, in which the hiſtories ſhould be placed in the ſame order in which the Evangeliſt wrote. Now if they did this, it is ſtrange none of theſe copies ſhould have others made from them, but all the books in the world ſhould proceed from one diſordered copy, made in the Apoſtles' time.

It may perhaps be ſaid, that this diſorder might happen in the Apoſtles' time, and they be ignorant of it. This indeed is poſſible, but very improbable. The office and buſineſs of an Apoſtle was to preach the doctrine, and publiſh the miracles,

racles, of Jeſus Chriſt. Now St. Matthew having, by the influences of the Holy Spirit, collected a very early, full, and authentick account, both of the doctrines and miracles of Chriſt, there can be no doubt but the Apoſtles would make uſe of it themſelves, and recommend it to the uſe of others. Not to have done this, would have been to caſt that contempt upon the work of one inſpired Apoſtle, which we cannot ſuppoſe another would do; beſides not to have made uſe of this, would have been to neglect one likely means of obtaining the ends of their apoſtleſhip. Hence Euſebius [a] tells us, that when the pious Pantænus (who lived in the time of Irenæus and Origen) *went to preach the Goſpel to the Indians, where St. Bartholomew had been preaching the Goſpel before him, he found there the Goſpel of St. Matthew.* No doubt the Apoſtles, when they went abroad to preach the Goſpel, did take both this and the other Goſpels along with them, and left copies of them, when they were gone, for the uſe of their converts, as I ſhall ſhew more fully hereafter. Hence it ſeems very reaſonable to conclude the Apoſtles made uſe of this Goſpel; which if they did, they being eye-witneſſes to the hiſtory, could not but perceive ſuch diſlocations and miſplacings, as thoſe which we are treating of, and ſo, no doubt, would have corrected them. This argument is abundantly confirmed by a teſtimony of Euſebius [b], viz. *that the three former Goſpels were peruſed by St. John, and that he approved them.* Now if St. Matthew's Goſpel had been ſo confuſedly ſet together, as Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes, St. John would certainly never have approved of it. Mr. Whiſton cannot queſtion this teſtimony of Euſebius, having himſelf uſed it on another occaſion [c]. I conclude therefore, that this diſorder did not happen to this Goſpel in the Apoſtles' time.

[a] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 10. Vid. Valeſ. ad loc.

[b] Τῶν προαναγγαφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ἤδη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν (ſc. Ἰωάνην) διαδιδομένων, ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν φασὶν, &c. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 24. The ſame is related by Theophylact. Præfat. in Matth.

[c] P. 132.

CHAP. XXII.

The Diſorder Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes in the former Part of St. Matthew's Goſpel, could not poſſibly happen after the Apoſtles' Time; becauſe of the great Number of Copies, that were ſpread abroad in the World in their Time. The Time when St. Matthew wrote, and the Diſtance between that Time and St. John's Death, conſidered. That the Goſpels were very much diſperſed in the Apoſtles' Time, largely proved. Mr. Hobbes, Mr. Toland, and Mr. Dodwell's Notion of the Goſpels being a long while unknown and concealed, confuted by ſeveral Arguments.

II. AS this diſorder did not happen in the time of the Apoſtles, ſo it neither did nor poſſibly could happen afterwards. Mr. Whiſton does not any where hint to us, at what time he ſuppoſes theſe diſlocations made; nor does Mr. Toinard ſay any more in this reſpect, than that they were done, *antiquiſſima ſchedarum tranſpoſitione, by a very antient confuſion of the papers*, on which they were wrote. It was not without reaſon that they thus left the time undetermined, being well aware of the difficulties that would attend their hypotheſis, if they had determined it. As ſuch diſlocations could not happen in the Apoſtles' time, ſo it was morally impoſſible they ſhould have happened afterwards: to mention no other arguments, this will ſufficiently appear by the two following conſiderations.

1. That there were a very great number of theſe Goſpels, ſpread up and down in the world before the Apoſtles' death.

2. The Syriack Verſion, which ſeems to have been made in the Apoſtles' time, has the ſeveral branches or periods of this hiſtory in the ſame order with our preſent Greek copies.

1. The diſorder or diſlocation, which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes in St. Matthew's Goſpel, could not poſſibly happen after the Apoſtles' death; becauſe between the firſt writing of it and

and that time, there were a very great number of true copies ſpread in different parts of the world, which would certainly prevent it. It is not very eaſy, indeed, preciſely to determine the time, in which either this, or any of the Goſpels, was wrote. The moſt antient account, which I have met with, about the time of St. Matthew's writing, is in Irenæus, viz. *that he wrote it, when St. Peter and St. Paul were preaching the Goſpel at Rome* [a]. When St. Peter was at Rome is not very certain; Irenæus tells us here, it was the ſame time that St. Paul was there, viz. in the third year of Nero (according to Euſebius, in his Chronicon), and the fifty-ninth of Chriſt; and to this moſt chronologers [b] agree. Now according to this account, this Goſpel was not written till about twenty-ſix years after our Lord's aſcenſion. But this ſeems very improbable, becauſe the Chriſtian converts cannot be ſuppoſed to have been ſo long a time deſtitute of any written account of our Saviour's miracles and doctrines. It is much more likely, that this Goſpel was wrote at the time, when Euſebius has placed it in his Chronicon, viz. in the third year of Caligula, and the forty-firſt of Chriſt. To this agrees the account of Theophylact [c], that St. Matthew *wrote his Goſpel about eight years after our Lord's aſcenſion.* The ſame is affirmed at the end of ſeveral antient manuſcripts. So, for inſtance, in that of Beza (which he gave to the Univerſity of Cambridge, and is reputed the moſt antient manuſcript of the Goſpels in the world), there is written [d]; *The Goſpel of St. Matthew was publiſhed eight years after our Lord's aſcenſion.* The ſame is written at the end of an antient manuſcript [e] in Mr. Colbert's library. To the ſame purpoſe, at the end of the old Arabick Verſion of this Goſpel, it is written [f]; *St. Matthew wrote eight years after our Lord aſcended, in the firſt year of Clau-*

[a] Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος—γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν Εὐαγγελίου, τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένοις. Adver. Hæreſ. l. 3. c. 1.

[b] Helvicus, Petavius, Spanheim, Tillemont, Dr. Lightfoot, &c. Vid. et Lactant. l. 4. c. 21.

[c] Præfat. in Matth.

[d] See Beza ad Matt. xxviii. ult.

[e] See Father Simon Crit. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Par. 1. c. 13.

[f] Vid. Lud. de Dieu, ad Matt. xxviii. ult.

dius,

dius [a]. Now if we take this laſt account, and reckon from St. Matthew's writing eight years after our Lord's aſcenſion (in the laſt years of Caligula, or the firſt of Claudius) to the death of St. John, we ſhall find the intervening ſpace to be about ſixty years; for St. John lived till the reign of Trajan, as Irenæus [b], who lived not long after him, and Clemens Alexandrinus [c], inform us. Now Trajan, according to Euſebius [d], began his reign in the year of Chriſt 101; ſo that from St. Matthew's writing in the year of Chriſt 41 to the death of St. John in Trajan's reign, muſt be at leaſt ſixty years; and, in this long interval, there were undoubtedly great numbers of copies of this Goſpel diſperſed in all thoſe diſtant countries, where the Goſpel was preached. Very probably many thouſand copies were made, and ſent into all thoſe places, where Chriſtianity prevailed. Euſebius [e], ſpeaking concerning the Evangeliſts in the apoſtolick times, ſays, *They travelled up and down in the world, preaching the Goſpel, and very induſtriouſly endeavoured,* τὴν τῶν θείων Εὐαγγελίων παραδοῦναι γραφήν i. e. *to diſperſe abroad copies of the holy Goſpels.* And in another place [f] he aſſures us, that, *before St. John wrote his Goſpel, the other Goſpels were in the hands of all men.* If this be true, is it a thing credible, that of all the copies that have been known in the world, not one ſhould be derived from any of thoſe vaſt numbers of copies that were made, and ſpread abroad in the world, in the Apoſtles' time? Can it be imagined, that all the manuſcripts in the world are derived from one confuſed, miſplaced copy, that was made after the Apoſtles' time; and not ſo much as one from any of thoſe innumerable copies, that were in their right order till the Apoſtles' death? This, I think, cannot without manifeſt abſurdity be ſuppoſed.

[a] This does not differ above half a year from the above-mentioned account out of Euſebius, of its being written in the third year of Caligula; for he reigned but three years and ſome months, and Claudius ſucceeded him.

[b] Adv. Hæreſ. l. 2. c. 39. in fin.

[c] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 23.

[d] In Chronic.

[e] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 37.

[f] Τῶν προαναγραφέντων τεσσάρων εἰς πάντας ἤδη — διαδεδομένων. l. 3. c. 24.

It

It will not be at all foreign to my preſent purpoſe, to conſider a little more particularly, what a great number of copies of the Goſpels, and particularly of St. Matthew's, were ſpread abroad in the world in the Apoſtles' time, at leaſt before the death of St. John. I am the more inclined to conſider this matter, becauſe, I find, a very learned writer has taken ſome pains to perſuade the world, *that the Goſpels, and other writings of the New Teſtament, lay for a long time concealed and unobſerved in the world.* The perſon I mean is Mr. Dodwell, who in his elaborate Diſſertations upon Irenæus [a] tells us, *That the Canonical writings of the New Teſtament lay concealed and unknown in the coffers of ſome private churches, or perhaps ſome private perſons, till the later times of Trajan, or perhaps of Adrian* (i. e. till the year of Chriſt 120, or perhaps 130.); *ſo that they were not at all known by the Catholick Church.* He proceeds for a page or two, in ſaying things much to the ſame purpoſe. Mr. Toland, obſerving how much this paſſage would ſerve his purpoſe, *to render the Canon of Scripture uncertain*, tranſcribes it at large in his Amyntor, and declares his aſſent to the truth of it [b]. Mr. Hobbes, in his Leviathan, is very much of the ſame opinion; he ſays [c], *The copies of the books of the New Teſtament were, not many—That the Council of Laodicea is the firſt we know of, that recommended the Bible to the then Chriſtian Churches—That the copies of the books of the New Teſtament were then only in the hands of the eccleſiaſticks*, &c. I do not deſign particularly to diſcuſs this whimſical and groundleſs opinion. Mr. Nye, in his Anſwer to Amyntor [d], Mr. Le Clerc, in his Reflections on theſe two Sections of Mr. Dodwell [e], and Archbiſhop Teniſon, in his Anſwer to Leviathan [f], have ſufficiently done this already. I ſhall only endeavour by two or three arguments to

[a] Latitabant enim uſque ad recentiora illa, ſeu Trajani, ſeu etiam fortaſſe Hadriani tempora, in privatarum eccleſiarum, ſeu etiam hominum ſcriniis Scripta illa Canonica, ne ad Eccleſiæ Catholicæ notitiam pervenirent. Diſſert. 1. §. 38.

[b] Pag. 78.

[c] Leviath. Par. 3. c. 33.

[d] P. 41.

[e] In his third Diſſertation annexed to his Harmony of the Goſpels.

[f] Hobbes's Creed, Art. 9.

evidence,

evidence, that the Goſpels were ſo much diſperſed abroad in the world, that no ſuch confuſion could happen to St. Matthew, as Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes. This will appear;

1. If we conſider the deſign and end, for which theſe ſacred books were written. They were not written for the uſe of any one private particular perſon, but for the benefit and inſtruction of all mankind. They were books of a more large and extenſive importance, than any which had ever yet been publiſhed in the world; they were ſuch in which the preſent and future happineſs of all men was nearly concerned. And is it likely, ſuch books ſhould lie concealed in private cheſts or coffers, ſome for forty, others for fifty, ſixty, ſeventy, or more years? The zeal of the Apoſtles and firſt Chriſtians, for propagating Chriſtianity, was not ſuch as it is repreſented, if they would be ſo negligent as this. If this be ſuppoſed, it follows, that they ſlighted one of the moſt likely means to make men converts to their new religion. Whatever others did, one would imagine the penmen of theſe ſacred books ſhould themſelves have taken care to diſtribute and diſperſe them. If they did not thus, it will follow, that they had not very juſt regards to that holy Spirit, who influenced them to write. Beſides Chriſtianity, in its very infancy, made a very great noiſe in the world: the doctrines of it were new and ſurpriſing; vaſt numbers continually embraced it: one would think therefore, that, had there been nothing elſe, men's curioſity would have influenced them to procure thoſe authentick accounts, which the Goſpels contain; that ſo they might know the hiſtory of a perſon's life and doctrines, who had been ſo remarkable, and made ſo great a figure in the world. I remember Joſephus [a] tells us, that when he had finiſhed his Hiſtory of the War of the Jews, *he immediately ſold great numbers of his books to the Romans, Jews, and others, who underſtood the Greek language.* And can it be ſuppoſed that this,

[a] Πολλοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίων τοῖς συμπεπολεμηκόσι, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπίπρασκον, ἀνδράσι καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας μετεσχηκόσιν. Contra Appion. l. 1. §. 9.

the

the moſt uſeful and remarkable hiſtory that ever was in the world, ſhould lie in private coffers, quite concealed and unknown, for ſo long a time as has been mentioned.

2. It will appear, that copies of the Goſpels were diſperſed in the Apoſtles' time, into diſtant countries, and did not lie in the coffers or cheſts of any private perſons; if we conſider, that they are made uſe of, and referred to, by all thoſe, who are reputed to be writers of the apoſtolick age, except Hermas, whoſe deſign did not at all lead him to cite them. The writers I mean (which are indeed the only ones we have), are Clemens Romanus, Barnabas, Ignatius, and Polycarp; each of which (though they lived in very diſtant countries) had, and made uſe of, thoſe Goſpels, which were publiſhed when they wrote their Epiſtles. I mean the Goſpels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke; for, as far as I have obſerved, they do none of them cite, or ſo much as refer to, any thing which is in St. John's Goſpel; which, by the way, ſeems ſomewhat like an argument, that theſe Epiſtles were written before that Goſpel.

Mr. Dodwell, in the Diſſertation juſt now mentioned, would perſuade us, that the writers of the apoſtolick age have made no uſe, in their books, of the Goſpels, or other writings of the New Teſtament. This is moſt apparently falſe, as any one may eaſily perceive, who will read thoſe books with this view. It is ſufficient to my preſent purpoſe; to ſhew that St. Matthew's Goſpel is cited by theſe writers.

A Table of places, cited out of St. Matthew's Goſpel by the Apoſtolick Fathers.

I. Clemens Romanus, in his Epiſtle to the Corinthians, ch. xiii. adviſes them to remember ſeveral of our Lord's ſayings, which are recited by St. Matthew, chap. vi. 14. and vii. 1, 2, 12.

II. Barnabas, ch. iv. cites Matth. ch. xx. 16. and xxii. 14.
Ch. v. he refers to Matth. ix. 13.
Ch. v. he cites a prophecy out of Zechariah, ch. xiii. 7. in words different both from the Hebrew, and the Septuagint,

tuagint, but exactly the ſame with our Saviour's words, as related by St. Matthew, ch. xxvi. 31.

Ch. vii. he cites Matth. xxvii. 54.

Ch. xix. he refers to Matth. v. 42.

III. Polycarp, in his Epiſtle to the Philippians, ch. ii. cites Matth. vii. 1. and v. 3, 10.

Ch. vi. he cites Matth. vi. 12, 14.

Ch. vii. he cites Matth. vi. 13. and xxvi. 41.

IV. Ignatius, in his Epiſtle to the Smyrneans, ch. i. cites Matth. iii. 15.

In his Epiſtle to Polycarp, ch. ii. he cites Matth. x. 16.

In his Epiſtle to the Epheſians, ch. xiv. he cites Matth. xii. 33. Theſe are reckoned among his genuine Epiſtles.

By a careful obſerving of theſe writings with this view, perhaps there may be found ſeveral other places of this Goſpel referred to in them. Thoſe now cited are ſufficient to prove, that this Goſpel was widely diſperſed in the Apoſtles' time, and made uſe of in very diſtant countries; for Clemens wrote his Epiſtle from Rome, Barnabas from Cyprus, Polycarp from Smyrna, Ignatius from Antioch; and theſe were places widely diſtant from each other. If then theſe Goſpels were thus in the hands of all thoſe of that age, whoſe writings we now have, it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, they were alſo in the hands of innumerable others.

I would only add, that in the Conſtitutions, which Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes to be *the Apoſtles'*, and collected by Clemens, this Goſpel is frequently cited, and recommended, among the other ſacred Goſpels, to the peruſal of all Chriſtians; which would have been very abſurd, if the Goſpels were not diſperſed, and ſpread abroad in the world.

3. This matter will be further confirmed, if we conſider, how much it was the practice of the firſt Chriſtians to read the Scriptures. St. Paul's Epiſtles were wont to be publickly read in the churches, to which they were written, and other churches too, as is plain from thoſe words, Col. iv. 16. *And when*

when this Epiſtle is read among you, cauſe that it be read alſo in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewiſe read the Epiſtle from Laodicea. Timothy has this character given him by St. Paul, *that he from a child had made the Scriptures his ſtudy*, 2 Tim. iii. 15. It ſeems to me very probable, that he means here both the Scriptures of the New and Old Teſtament; for he gives them this character, *that they were able to make him wiſe unto ſalvation*; which character at that time did moſt properly belong to the books of the New Teſtament, which were then written. Polycarp, in his Epiſtle to the Philippians, tells them, *he did not doubt but they were converſant with the ſacred Scriptures.* The laſt Canon of the Apoſtles obliges all Laity and Clergy, *to procure the ſacred books, both of the Old and New Teſtament*; and b. i. c. 5. the Chriſtians are required *diligently to read the Goſpels* [a]. This is authority, which Mr. Whiſton will not diſpute. If then the Chriſtians did, and were obliged to read the Goſpels, they did not lie concealed and unknown till the times of Trajan or Hadrian.

I would only add here, that reading the Goſpels was one part of the public ſervice of the primitive Chriſtians, in their religious aſſemblies. It is certain that a great part of the Jewiſh worſhip in their ſynagogues, conſiſted in reading of the Law [b]. Joſephus tells us, that *they did this in obedience to the command of Moſes* [c]. Now it is well known, that the Chriſtians conformed themſelves very much in their worſhip to the cuſtoms of the Jews. Juſtin Martyr [d], who lived but a little while after the Apoſtles' time, tells us, "That on the day "which is called Sunday, there was an aſſembly of all, that "lived (near) in town or country, in the ſame place; and

[a] Διέρχου ἐπιμελῶς τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον.

[b] Luke iv. 16, 17. and Acts xv. 21.

[c] Ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀφειμένους, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ νόμου ἐκέλευσε (ſc. Moſes) συλλέγεσθαι. Contra Appion. l. 2. §. 17.

[d] Καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγρὸς μένοντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν, ἀναγινώσκεται. Apol. 2. p. 98.

[a] the

" the hiſtorical memoirs of the Apoſtles (i. e. the Goſpels) and " the writings of the prophets were read."

Now from all this I think it is evident, a great number of copies of this Goſpel were ſpread abroad in the world, in the Apoſtles' time. Theſe, as has been proved, were in their right order, in which St. Matthew wrote; and ſince it is impoſſible but ſome of thoſe copies that are in the world, muſt be derived from ſome of theſe, and ſince all the copies that are in the world, are in the ſame order with our preſent copies; it neceſſarily follows, this part of St. Matthew's Goſpel has not been miſplaced or diſordered ſince the Apoſtles' time.

CHAP. XXIII.

St. Matthew's Goſpel, in our preſent Copies, was not diſordered and miſplaced ſince the Apoſtles' Time; becauſe the Syriack Verſion, which was made in the Apoſtles' Time, is in the ſame Order with our preſent Copies. An Attempt to prove, that the Syriack Verſion was made in that Time. Syriack was the Language of the Jews in the Apoſtles' Time. Great Numbers of Jews were converted to Chriſtianity, and therefore needed a Verſion in that Language.

BY what has been ſaid in the foregoing Chapter, it is evident St. Matthew's Goſpel was not miſplaced ſince the Apoſtles' time: the ſame will be further proved, if we conſider;

2. That the Syriack Verſion, which ſeems to have been made in the Apoſtles' time, is exactly in the ſame order in this part of St. Matthew's Goſpel, with our preſent copies. This is an argument, which undeniably proves the point I am contending for, if it can be made appear, that this Verſion was made in that time. It is not to be expected, we ſhould have as clear evidence of this, as we have of ſome other matters of fact

fact in the Apoſtolick times; becauſe, of the vaſt number of Jews, who were at firſt converted to Chriſtianity, and who made uſe of this Verſion, there is not one (except the Apoſtles), who has wrote any thing which is come down to our preſent time. Nevertheleſs, I hope to make it at leaſt probable, that this Verſion was made in the time of the Apoſtles. In order to which, I will ſhew;

1. That Syriack was the language in uſe among the Jews, in our Saviour's and the Apoſtles' time.

2. That it was very neceſſary a Verſion ſhould be made, and very likely a Verſion was made, of the New Teſtament into this language in the Apoſtles' time.

3. That it is probable this Verſion, which we now have, is the ſame which was then made.

1. The Syriack was the language in common uſe among the Jews, in the time of our Saviour and his Apoſtles. Till the Jews were carried captives to Babylon, they undoubtedly retained their own language, viz. the pure Hebrew, and underſtood not Syriack, as is plain from 2 Kings xviii. 26. and Jer. v. 15. Being at Babylon for ſeventy years, they learnt the language of the country, which afterwards they never loſt. *This was a place* (ſays the great Bochart[a]), *always fatal to the Hebrew language.* That which they learnt, was not very much different from the Hebrew, though it went under a different name, and was called ſometimes Chaldee, and ſometimes Syriack: ſo Dan. i. 4. it is called לשון כשדים i. e. *the tongue of the Chaldeans*; and ch. ii. 4. the ſame is called Syriack; *the Chaldeans ſpake to the King* ארמית i. e. *in the Syriack tongue.* It was this (perhaps a little altered), in which our Saviour and his Apoſtles converſed[b], and the Jews generally, in their time: for

[a] Eadem Babylon, ubi cæteræ linguæ natæ ſunt, ſemper Hebraicæ fuit fatalis, ſemel in confuſione Linguarum, et rurſus cum Judæi ibi captivi patrium ſermonem didicerunt. Phaleg. l. 1. c. 15.

See to the ſame purpoſe Dr. Prideaux Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. Par. 1. B. 5. and Par. 2. B. 8.

[b] Is vero Syrorum Sermo, Chriſti et Apoſtolorum temporibus, propter diuturnam illam in Babylone captivitatem, et Aſſyriorum contra in Judæam tranſlationem, genti Hebraicæ popularis fuit et vernaculus, adeo ut nulli tunc ſcirent Hebraice, niſi qui ſingulari ſtudio ex libris didiciſſent. Quamobrem Chriſtum quoque et Apoſtolos eodem ſermone popu-

for the proof of this, I ſhall only alledge a few places out of the New Teſtament; the great number of Syriack words, that are to be found therein, do ſufficiently prove it, viz. ſuch as *Talitha Kumi*[a], *Ephphatha*[b], *Eloi Eloi lama ſabachthani*[c], *Bethesda*[d], *Golgotha*[e], *Gabbatha*[f], *Raca*[g], *Cephas*[h], *Aceldama*[i], *Boanerges*[k], *Maran-atha*[l], *Bar-Jona*[m], *Abba*[n], &c. Theſe are all evidently Syriack words (as they know who are acquainted with this language), which were uſed by the Jews in and about our Saviour's time. I would only obſerve concerning one of theſe Syriack words, viz. the word *Aceldama*, that it is ſaid to be ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν, i. e. *in their own dialect or language*. It is true indeed, that two or three of theſe words are called Hebrew, ſo John v. 2. ἡ ἐπιλεγομένη Ἑβραϊστὶ Βηθεσδά, *which is called in Hebrew Bethesda*, and John xix. 13. Ἑβραϊστὶ Γαββαθᾶ, i. e. *in Hebrew Gabbatha*. But it is a very trite and common obſervation, that Syriack and Chaldee are frequently called Hebrew; whence Nonnus in his Greek Paraphraſe on John, tranſlates Ἑβραϊστὶ, Σύρῳ μύθῳ, in the laſt place cited; and ver. 17. he renders the ſame word Σύρων στόμα. So Philo[o] and the Fathers commonly call Chaldee and Syriack, Hebrew. Nor is this ſtrange, when we conſider that Hebrew was the old language, from which theſe two dialects (very little different from it) are derived.

The old Hebrew was ſo far from being the language of the country at this time, that they had now, and for a long time before had, an officer in the ſynagogues, called מתורגמן, whoſe buſineſs it was, when the Old Teſtament was read, to tranſlate the Hebrew, and give the people the ſenſe of it, period by period, in Chaldee, or Syriack[p]. Hence alſo it was, that

populariibus ſuis locutos fuiſſe, cum ipſa ratio, tum in Græco relictæ voces Syriacæ, ſatis evincunt. Tremell. Præfat. in Teſt. Syriac.

[a] Mark v. 41.
[b] Mark vii. 34.
[c] Mark xv. 34.
[d] John v. 2.
[e] Matt. xxvii. 33.
[f] John xix. 13.
[g] Matt. v. 22.
[h] John i. 42.
[i] Acts i. 19.
[k] Mark iii. 17.
[l] 1 Cor. xvi. 22.
[m] Matt xvi. 17.
[n] Mark xiv. 36.
[o] Vid. Caſaub. ad Baron. Annal. c. xvi. §. 11.
[p] Dr. Lightfoot Harm. of the Goſpels, Year 31. §. 23.

the

the תרגומים i. e. *the Chaldee tranſlations* of the Old Teſtament were made in, or before, our Saviour's time.

There has been a controverſy between the learned Mr. Voſſius, and Father Simon, concerning the language the Jews ſpake at this time. The former pretends, that Greek was[a] then the language of the Jews; but Father Simon has ſufficiently ſhewn the weakneſs of his arguments[b]. It ſeems to me very evident, the common Jews did not at all underſtand Greek. It was indeed the language moſt known in the world (much more perhaps than either Latin or French are now); and for that reaſon, as has been ſaid, the books of the New Teſtament were wrote in it: but the common Jews were not acquainted with it; and therefore St. Paul, when he was apprehended at Jeruſalem, though he ſpake to the officer (who perhaps was a Roman) *in Greek* (Acts xxi. 37.); yet, when he made his ſpeech to the people, he ſpake ἐν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ, *in the Hebrew tongue*, or, which is the ſame (as has been proved), *in the Syriack*. He knew the people could not underſtand him in any other; and ſo we find, that, when he ſpake no more Greek, but in their own language, they diligently hearkened to him, ch. xxii. 2. Hence Joſephus tells us, that he wrote his Hiſtory firſt in Hebrew, or Syriack, for the uſe of his countrymen; but afterwards, that it might be of more extenſive uſe, tranſlated it into Greek: though (as he ſays a little after) he was very backward to that work, *becauſe it was a language very different from that of his country*[c].

2. This being the language of the Jews in our Saviour's time, it was very neceſſary a Verſion ſhould be made, and conſequently, likely a Verſion was made, of the New Teſtament into this language, before the Apoſtles' death. Although the body and greateſt part of the Jews rejected Chriſtianity, yet there were very conſiderable numbers of them that embraced it. We read, Acts xxi. 20. of many (μυριάδες) *ten thou-*

[a] Voſſ. Reſponſ. ad iterat. P. Simon object.

[b] Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Par. 1. c. 6.

[c] Εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἡμῖν καὶ ξένης διαλέκτου συνήθειαν. Præfat. in Antiq. Jud. §. 2.

ſands of Jews that believed, and received the doctrines of Chriſt. There can be no reaſonable doubt, but that great additions were made to their number continually, both at Jeruſalem, and other parts of Judæa. And now can it be ſuppoſed, that ſo many thouſand converts ſhould be left ſo long without thoſe inſpired books, which contained the foundation of their religion? Here, and here only, they could have a particular, exact, and authentick account of the doctrines of that religion, which they had embraced; and is it not likely they would endeavour to get theſe books tranſlated into their own language? Either the Apoſtles, or themſelves, certainly would take care to have a Verſion made.

1. It may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the Apoſtles, who were ſo much among the Jews, would take care to have the Goſpel Hiſtory and their own writings publiſhed among them, in their own language. Their zeal for the intereſt of Chriſtianity (which was in all reſpects ſo very great) would undoubtedly influence them to take this probable method of advancing it. Add to this, the particular fondneſs and affection, that appeared in ſeveral of them, towards their own countrymen. Nothing leſs than a revelation from heaven, would ſerve to convince Peter, that he might leave them, and go to preach to the Gentiles[a]. The concern St. Paul had for them and their intereſt, was ſo tender and paſſionate, that he was even ready *to wiſh himſelf accurſed from Chriſt*, if ſo be they might be happy[b]. And now, would not all this their zeal for Chriſtianity in general, and their particular love to their countrymen, excite them to procure a Verſion of theſe ſacred books for their uſe? Nothing can be ſuppoſed, which would prevent the Apoſtles from doing this, unleſs we ſuppoſe they were of the ſame mind with the Papiſts, viz. that the Scriptures ought not to be tranſlated into the common languages, for the uſe of the people. But the Apoſtles were of a different opinion in this matter from their pretended ſucceſſors, who for intereſt have made it religion, to keep the people in ignorance. Their grand employment was, to inſtruct men in

[a] Acts x. 9, &c. [b] Rom. ix. 3.

the

the hiſtory and doctrines of Chriſt; and now was any way more likely to do this, than giving them the Scriptures in their own language? The ſame reaſon, which put each of them upon writing in Greek, for the univerſal benefit of mankind, would very probably influence thoſe of them, who were at Jeruſalem, to tranſlate their books into the language we are ſpeaking of. Well does Tremellius argue on this head[a]; "It "is altogether probable" (he is ſpeaking of the Syriack Verſion), "that it was made in the very beginning of Chriſti- "anity, either by the Apoſtles or ſome of their diſciples; un- "leſs we will chooſe rather to believe, that in writing, they "had regard only to thoſe of other nations, and very little, or "none at all to thoſe of their own." But,

2. If we ſuppoſe the Apoſtles thus negligent of the intereſt of the believing Jews, and not to have done this for them, we may with a great deal of reaſon ſuppoſe, that they would take care to have it done themſelves. Every body knows, how prodigiouſly fond the Jewiſh nation was of the ſacred books of the Old Teſtament, *becauſe they came from God*; and would not the converted Jews be likewiſe fond of the books of the New Teſtament, *which they believed alſo came from God?* They were careful enough to get the Hebrew of the Old Teſtament tranſlated into Chaldee, and may be as reaſonably ſuppoſed (I mean they who were converted) to get the Greek of the New Teſtament tranſlated into Syriack. Upon the whole, I think it fair to conclude, that a Verſion of the New Teſtament was made into this language in the time of the Apoſtles.

[a] Præfat. in Verſ. Syr.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Syriack Verſion, which we now have, is the ſame which was made in the Apoſtles' Time. This proved by three arguments. The Syrians, from whom we had it, believed it to be the ſame. It is improbable the Antient Verſion ſhould be loſt. It wants the Parts of the New Teſtament, which were laſt written.

I HAVE attempted in the foregoing Chapter to ſhew, that a Verſion of the New Teſtament was made into Syriack in the time of the Apoſtles; I ſhall now endeavour to prove,

3. That the Syriack Verſion which we now have, is the ſame which was then made. In order to which, I obſerve;

1. That it was conſtantly and univerſally believed by the Syrians, from whom we had this Verſion, that it was made by St. Mark the Evangeliſt. The truth of this depends upon the teſtimony of Poſtellus[a], a learned man, who aſſiſted Widmanſtadius in his firſt edition of this Verſion; and avers, that he received this account from the Syrians themſelves, when he travelled among them, to acquire the knowledge of their language and cuſtoms.

2. Whether this Verſion was made by St. Mark or not, it is very improbable that the Church at Jeruſalem or Antioch, or any other Church, for whom the Syriack Verſion was firſt made, would ſuffer it to be loſt. There was no more probability of the Syrians loſing their tranſlation, than of the Greek Churches loſing their original. A Church of Chriſtians, who were in poſſeſſion of ſo valuable a treaſure, would be continually uſing it; its copies would be daily multiplying amongſt them, and ſo they cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have loſt it; they looked upon it as the word of God, though not in the language in which it was originally written, and therefore

[a] Guid. Fabrit. Præfat. in Syr. Teſt.

would

would be careful in preſerving it. Every one knows, how exceeding fond the Jews were of their Chaldee Verſions of the Old Teſtament. Galatinus tells us [a], they *paid the ſame reſpect to them, as to the original itſelf:* and is it not likely the Chriſtian Jews would be as careful of their tranſlations of the New Teſtament, as the others were of the tranſlations of the Old?

3. The Syriack Verſion, which we now have, is the ſame which was made in the Apoſtles' time, becauſe it has not in it thoſe books of the New Teſtament, which were laſt written, viz. *The ſecond Epiſtle of Peter, the ſecond and third of John, the Epiſtle of Jude, and the Revelation.* Theſe indeed have been added, ſince this Verſion was brought into Europe, viz. the four Epiſtles by Mr. Pocock, and the Revelation by De Dieu; but it is, I think, agreed by every body, even the editors themſelves, that theſe are but modern tranſlations. Now there can be but two probable reaſons aſſigned, why they were wanting in the copy brought by Moſes Meridinæus into Europe, and the other antient Syriack copies; viz. either,

1. Becauſe they were not received into the Canon, and judged authentick, when this Verſion was made. It is certain theſe books were not at firſt received by all, but for a long time rejected by many, as Euſebius tells us [b]: or

2. They are not in the Syriack copies, becauſe they were not written when the Syriack Verſion was made; and this indeed ſeems moſt probable; for had they been written then, thoſe ſo uſeful Epiſtles would have been tranſlated, for the ſame reaſon as the others. This was the argument, which, among others, convinced Tremellius [c] and the learned Bp. Walton [d], that this Verſion was made in the Apoſtles' time. I conclude therefore, ſince this Verſion has the ſeveral periods of St. Matthew's Goſpel, in the ſame order with our preſent copies, that they never have been diſordered or miſplaced.

[a] De Arcan. Cathol. Verit. l. 1. c. 6.

[b] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 24, 25. & l. 6. c. 25. & l. 7. c. 25.

[c] Præfat. in Nov. Teſt. Syr.

[d] Prolegom. in Bibl. Polyglot. xiii. §. 15.

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END OF VOL. III.

ERRATA IN V. I. III.

P. 57. l. 2. for *Hypotopeſes* read *Hypotyſes*
72. l. 6. after *Romans* place a comma
In the Vindication
25. l. 7. for *word* read *words*
52. l. 13. for *of* read *off*

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